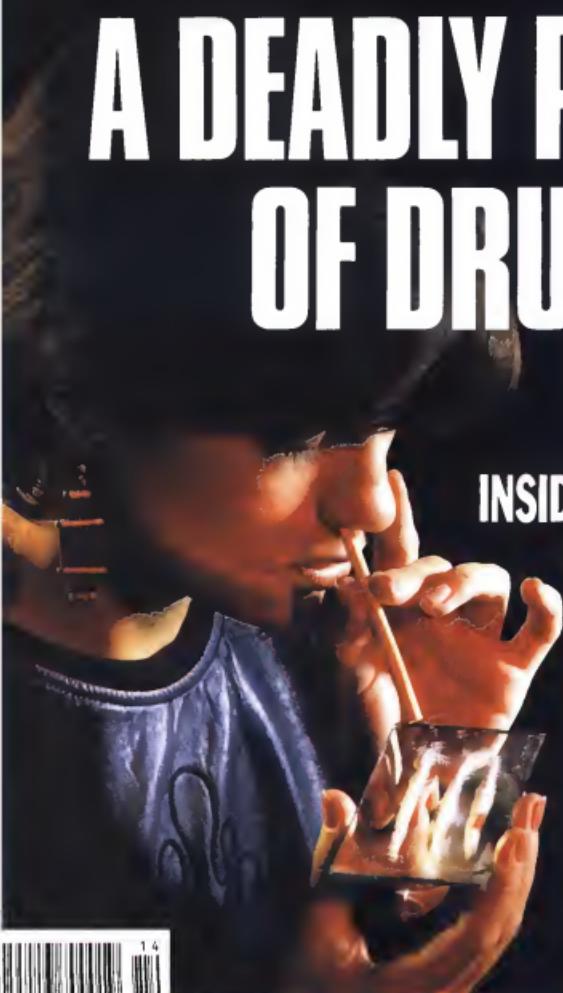


Maclean's

A 40TH
ANNIVERSARY
IN NEWFOUNDLAND

A DEADLY PLAGUE OF DRUGS



INSIDE THE GRIM WORLD
OF ASSASSINATIONS,
GANG WARS—AND
ADDICTS WHO WILL
KILL FOR A FIX





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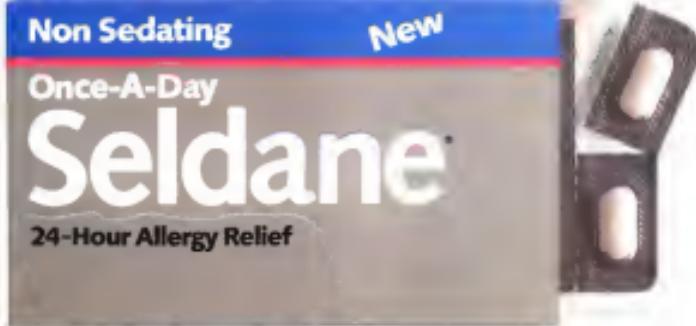
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CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

7 LETTERS/PASSAGES

8 OPENING NOTES

A Canadian attorney's obsession; more Globe staffers head for the exit; the Other's missing number; Trudeau and Mulroney vie for the spotlight; protection for the stars; a ticket to Siberia; shrugging off the mesh in Pale Beauty; just what the doctor ordered.

11 COLUMN/DIANE FRANCIS

12 CANADA

Alberta's Donat Getty considers his options; austerity threatens Confederation's "wedding feast."

24 WORLD

An Israeli calls for talks with the PLO; El Salvador swings right; a new scandal rocks Britain; a wave of killings sweeps Northern Ireland.

35 PEOPLE

36 BUSINESS

A contentious plan to export Canadian zinc; Nelson Shulman makes a comeback.

43 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

54 TRANSPORTATION

Critics question a minister's credibility.

55 HEALTH

A radically different approach to AIDS.

56 SPORTS

The Blue Jays aim for the World Series.

58 ANOTHER VIEW/CHARLES GORDON

62 THEATRE

Gordon Pinsent takes a sentimental look at *Mein Stern*.

63 BOOKS

A tale of moral outrage; Carl Bernstein's free-blief childhood; intriguing memories of Moscow.

66 FOTHERINGHAM



COVER A PLAGUE OF DRUGS

A \$210-million drug strategy is now almost two years old in Canada. But so far, it has produced little beyond a scattering of billboards and some minor legal reforms. Meanwhile, Canada's streets are awash in drugs. Everywhere, to all levels of society and more potent forms of many drugs pose vastly greater risks for all of them. But police say the war on drugs is far from lost. — 44

CANADA

FLIGHT INTO DANGER

The Canadian Embassy in Washington has "expressed concern" to the U.S. State Department over a possible "violation of Canadian sovereignty." The complaint was about U.S. customs agents who boarded a river boat at the St. Lawrence, Quebec, airport as they pursued suspected drug smugglers.



SPECIAL REPORT

ANNIVERSARY ON THE ROCK

Four decades after Joseph Smallwood led Newfoundland into the Canadian Confederation, the province bears little resemblance to the rustic and classically bucolic British colony it had been for generations. But many residents still express grave misgivings about the decision to merge. — 56



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LETTERS

LOYALTY TO CANADIANS

Although a great fan of Cher's, I felt annoyed and shocked to see her in a starring role in the March 6 issue ("The Cher effect," *Contest*). When it comes to my need to read about what's in Canada, Marlowe's usual provides such information. Rather than characterizing Cher's love life, reporting on her perfume sales and fading photos of Hollywood's most desirable belly button, which no doubt add several more issues that week, please be more patriotic-Canadian and leave the topic to *People* magazine.

Susanne Gerkland,
Toronto



Cher: "most desirable belly button"

Worriedly, I tell, for me, the speed with which Town went from being a negotiator to General in advancing defense contractors was most disturbing. Contrary to your assertion, there were substantial questions about his behavior as a consultant. In these critical times, the United States deserves a thoughtful secretary of defense who will do his best for the country as a whole—not for a subset of defense contractors.

Carol Aronoff,
Cambridge, Mass.

IN DEFENCE OF RINGO

So Allan Fotheringham thinks Ringo Starr "couldn't play drums worth a hoot" ("Telling the children how it was," *Column*, Feb. 27). Having been a drummer for over 20 years, I find I spent for many of my contemporaries when I say that Ringo's drumming is held in high esteem because of his enormous and consistent good taste—few drummers frequently leading as drummers and apparently as Fotheringham as well.

Bill Phoenix,
London, Ont.

Letters are subject to editing and condensation. Please include name, address and telephone number. Write to Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's*, 1250 Bay St., Suite 1000, Toronto, Ont. M5J 1E6.

I really enjoyed Cher's statement on why she doesn't consider herself "much of a feminist" because she then goes on to give one of the best descriptions of a feminist that I have seen in a long time. Cher describes herself as a woman-supporting, women-empowering, female-oriented woman who really enjoys relationships with men, but on her terms as much as others.

Anne Scott
Winnipeg, Man.

CONCOCTING CONTROVERSY

The only "dirty reception" about the new Canadian Chemistry in Washington that I have noticed is my own at reading the famous article in your March 6 edition ("A dirty reception," *Architecture*). No reporter can be trusted without notice, the sustained applause of *The Washington Post's* review and conservative *Wall Street Journal* editor and architecture regulars' "Wow, Mr. Rothko." The undercurrent of unconvincing, bald professional in-praise indeed. "Disrespect" better describes a term meaning controversy than any sound reading of the embryo's style.

Arthur Erskine,
Arthur Erskine Architect,
Kitchener

PASSAGES

SENTENCED: Joel Steinberg, 47, to the maximum of 25 years for first-degree manslaughter in the killing of his legally adopted daughter, Lisa Steinberg, 6, by New York state Supreme Court Justice Harold Rothman. The divorced New York City lawyer was convicted on Jan. 30 for beating his daughter and leaving her unconscious and dying on the bathroom floor for about 22 hours. Following the unusual three-month trial, Rothman reported receiving a barrage of letters from citizens urging that Steinberg be given the maximum sentence. The judge already recommended that Steinberg not receive parole, for which he will be eligible in 60 years.



RETIRING: Dick Clark, 69, in host of *American Bandstand*, the longest-running variety show in TV history, after 33 years. The Los Angeles television icon will publish the memoirs of dozens of now-famous performers, including Linda Ronstadt, the Beach Boys, Stevie Wonder and Neil Diamond, by letting the first to give them national exposure.

expected to 25 teams from 12, and revenue from televised games increased to \$625 million a year from less than \$1 million.

DIED: George Walker, 56, the Yankees' regional medical officer of health who smoked a pack of cigarettes every day for 40 years and who came to consciousness minutes when he continued to smoke a federal baton smoking in hospitals after being diagnosed with lung cancer; of the disease at hospital near his Whitehorse home.

NOMINATED: Pete Rose, 53, commissioner of the National Football League, who helped turn the NFL into one of the pre-eminent sports organizations of the United States and made the Superbowl into an international sports extravaganza, three years before his conduct was due to erupt, because, he said, he wanted to spend more time with his family. Since Rose was elected commissioner in 1960, the NFL

NEW PRAGMATISM

Michael Manley's election victory was not surprising. It was a "clean" victory," *World*, Feb. 26. No longer the radical policies of the past, but still a Socialist, Manley wanted to move towards a more clear line with Washington, while planning to restore relations with Cuba. By moving swiftly to reassess the new administration of his party's more pragmatic policies to the political scene, he may still have fresh in his memory the name of Grenada.

Bert Sengenbach,
Barrie, Ont.

OPENING NOTES

Michael J. Fox buys protection, Kerrie Keane questions a script change, and Donald Trump fights for peace

CRYING AT THE MOVIES

Kerrie Keane, a runner-up for best-actress honors at the Genie awards in Toronto last week, is still weeping to see one of her recent films in U.S. theaters. In 1988, the Canadian-born Keane left the security of a Hollywood contract for a starring role in *Obsessed*, a Canadian movie about a woman's efforts to extort the American blindfolded driver who killed her son. That drama has been seen in Canada and about 40 other countries. But U.S. distributor New Star Entertainment has made extensive changes to the movie. Among them: retitling the film because the original title—*Waking Heron*—soundtracked like a baseball movie, substituting new music and re dubbing a profanity-spunked sound track in order to receive a parental-guidance rating. New Star has still not released the film in the United States. Deafened Keane: "The Americans distorted a lot of what happened in this film and now they may not even distribute it. I don't even know if I will get very positive reviews about this film." Grounds for obsession, indeed.

Keane's new title and cause: *Obsessed* has still no U.S. release.



Competition for the limelight

The International Chamber of Commerce cited Prime Minister Brian Mulroney for outstanding environmental achievement last week—to the surprise of many Canadian environmentalists who said that Mulroney had only recently turned his attention to ecological issues. Now, one of Mulroney's predecessors in also-expressing concern about the Earth's fate. And on April 28, former prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is scheduled to chair an environmental conference in Montreal. Mulroney's move reflected friendly to Trudeau's planned turn in the limelight. Said one aide: "We will go to great lengths to ignore this event."



Taylor (left), Fox: threats, still here and protection for the stars



Taylor (left), Fox: threats, still here and protection for the stars

KEEPING THE FANS AT BAY

For actor Michael J. Fox, married life has had one unsettling drawback: After his wed actress Tracy Pollan last July, the Canadian-born star of the hit television series *Family Ties* received more than 5,000 letters from a fan who threatened to kill him because she disapproved of the marriage. In desperation, Fox turned to Gavin De Becker—who describes himself as a "guardian to public figures on life safety." De Becker, 34, began his career 15 years ago, protecting far Taylor and Richard Burton.

Now, de Becker's 31-member staff includes investigators and bodyguards, and he charges an average fee of \$175,000 yearly to assess threats to more than 100 stars—including *Chair*. After de Becker began working for Fox, police arrested a 26-year-old shopping clerk in Canastota, a small town 80 km northwest of Los Angeles. Tim Leffert faces trial on April 19 for allegedly threatening Fox's life. For many stars, personal safety commands a higher price than the one charged for identity-protecting vigilantes.

A BRIEF MESSAGE FROM MOSCOW

The U.S. magazine *International Defense & Aerospace Review* ran what appeared to be an advertisement for a new fighter plane. Above: a picture of a MiG-29 Fulcrum, a black and copy—in Cyrillic script—decreed. "Expect the unexpected from the leaders in defense and aerospace considerations." Another message invited readers to write to the minister of aviation industries. In Moscow, Editor Gary Kallfer stressed that the Soviet Union had not placed the ad. Instead, said Kallfer, the magazine had commissioned the ad to test its own website on the press, but none of the staffers needs Russian and they didn't notice that the ad looked a key detail the magazine's name. That could generate an assignment on the Soviet military—in Siberia.

Trouble in paradise

A Florida retreat for the rich has become a battlefield of discord as residents of Palm Beach say that aircraft using



Trump's house and staff



Menacingly fashionable

With their shaved heads, so-called skinheads are often seen as Hitlerian symbols of sheltered urban youth. But among the estimated 1,000 skinheads in Canada say they were surprised to learn that a lot of their skinheads—about 400 of them—live in houses at addresses they'd never heard of. Skins are rapidly becoming popular in the United States after the Second World War. West German skinhead Rita Martens created the following year is now known as "Doc Martens." Stephen Griggs, a director of the British company that makes 26,000 pairs of the thick-soled Doc Martens each week, said that the firm's customers ranged from construction workers to rock musicians. Still, acknowledged Griggs: "Skinheads have put us in the way." They have also contributed to the company's profits: a pair of Doc Martens boots retails for about \$140.

Doc Martens buyer: not for sale feet

A new look for The Globe

Newspaper changes are still afoot at the *Toronto Globe* and *Mail* following the resignations of editor-in-chief Steven Whistler and managing editor Geoffrey Stevens earlier this year. Former deputy managing editor Shirley Sharpe—who left recently after rejecting a *Globe* offer to edit a planned Vancouver-based newspaper—is now negotiating with the newspaper over her departure. Provincial affairs columnist Thomas Mulcair and features editor Judy Sand have taken senior posts at the *entertained Toronto Star*, and departing columnists announced that former *Star* editor-in-chief Michael Valpy and political group columnist Steve Clemence, meanwhile, *Globe* publisher Roy Mc

erry is considering redesigning the newspaper's layout, previously reported page 40 in *Maclean's* by any standard.



Search for a superstar

When the Vancouver Canucks hosted the *Edmonton Oilers* recently, Offer coach Glen Sather was clearly angered by the sight of more than 15,000 fans wearing plastic hats emblazoned with the slogan "Where's '99?" That is the number worn by former *Canucks* Wayne Gretzky—and the dad name of a local radio station. Canadian vice-president Brian Burke later apologized to Sather for the *Canucks*-themed marketing promotion. It was not difficult to explain the need for the campaign: Vancouver shot out the stamping Oilers 3-0.

McParry, staff changes, negotiations and a redesign

a new terrorist have invaded of their properties with note and that U.S. developer Donald Trump has led the fight for fewer overights—aided by George Petty, the president of a Montreal-based paper company. Petty said that a neighbor and first shows him the \$1.6-million estate during the afternoon—when few planes use the airport. An overflight overnight, perhaps.

It takes a lot of effort to put one of these on the wall.



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St. John's Nissan
Calgary, Alberta
G. P. Cardinal Sales & Service
Calgary, Alberta
Southside Nissan
Vancouver, British Columbia
Victoria Nissan
Victoria, British Columbia
Bob Peters Nissan Ltd.
Vancouver, British Columbia

COLUMN



David and Goliath dial a busy signal

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Michael Kadar lives under a business death sentence. His company, CALL-NET Telecommunications Ltd. of Downsview, Ont., has been condemned by the federal regulator, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), but a federal cabinet has commuted the sentence several times. That is because CALL-NET's crime is highly debatable. All it has been doing since 1986 is competing against the telecommunications giants by offering the same type of discounted long-distance rates to small businesses that the large firms offer to their business-class users. But Bell Canada Enterprises Ltd. and the Telephone Canada Enterprises Ltd. have successfully convinced the CRTC that CALL-NET should be thrown out of business.

Kadar's basic, which has cost him nearly \$1 million in legal fees since 1986, illustrates how regulatory red tape fosters an inefficient, stodgy, conservative culture, opportunity and the stability of Canadian businesses to compete under free trade. It is also a reminder of the influence at the grassroots level of Ms. Bell, and of a philosophical clash between others and its intransigent regulator, the CRTC.

The nature of what Bell calls CALL-NET's "stunt" is hard to conceive. CALL-NET is a captive Bell customer. Its business consists of buying time on Bell's telephone system at a wholesale rate, then reselling it at slightly reduced retail rates to small businesses after evaluating the services by showing businesses its monitor and record all their long-distance calls. CALL-NET buys about \$880,000 worth of telephone time from Bell each month for 3,100 subscribers and in 1986 lost a small amount of money after booking up annual revenue of \$8 million. By comparison, Bell makes \$8 million in profits every two working days.

It all began in 1984 when the CRTC liberalized rules designed to create more competition by stating that "regulated carriers" (Bell and the Telephone Canada corporation) will be required to permit the resale of their services by companies

A tiny Canadian telecommunications firm wants to give small business a break, but giant Bell Canada is fighting it all the way

not willing to provide enhanced services.

But the CRTC survived the meaning of "enhanced" to make it more difficult for firms like CALL-NET to survive. They also concluded, came up with the CALL-NET proposal, and the CRTC said that it would cause a ruling, but only if it received complaints. Bell did complain, but at a formal hearing in 1986 the CRTC ordered it to knock up CALL-NET's rates.

Bell continued its objections and on May 22, 1987, it convinced the CRTC that CALL-NET's service was too similar to that offered by Bell and it had to be shut down. Bell also argued that CALL-NET's plan would disrupt the telecommunications plan of Canada of setting long-distance rates high enough to subsidize local rates.

Under the current system, phone rates are a trade-off. A small business will pay 96 cents a minute to make a long-distance call from Toronto to Calgary, while a residential user in the evening will pay only 36 cents a minute.

But in June, 1988, the federal cabinet intervened with the first of a series of extensions to give CALL-NET time to develop services that would clearly set it apart from Bell. The government, unlike the CRTC, was listening to arguments by CALL-NET that Canada's small

businesses were bearing the lion's share of the long-distance liability. Big companies had special rates from Bell, profit less for that. Toronto-to-Calgary calls still cost residential callers through special wholesale rates—a mere 26 to 30 cents a minute compared with as much as 96 cents a minute. Said Kadar: "Small business is the cash cow in residential rates. General Motors and residential users. How do you think we will have going into free trade with that kind of a disadvantage? A tracking company in Toronto drumming up business in Buffalo will pay up to 96 per cent more for long distance service than by Buffalo competitor."

Not surprisingly, the small-business lobby group, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, waded into the issue to support CALL-NET. "The current rates run counter to government policy and discriminatory against small-business users unfairly," said a federation brief tabled with the CRTC.

A year later, in June, 1988, the CRTC imposed another death sentence but limited submissions as part of a review of its "enhanced" service policy. Cabinet extended the deadline until Aug. 18, 1988, when the review could be completed. Some 30 intervenors came forward, mostly in support of CALL-NET, and by Aug. 16, 1988, the CRTC altered its "enhanced" policy and said that only operators of "sharing groups" could tap into Bell's rates at long-distance rates.

CALL-NET responded to its affliction so that it would merely act as an agent for its customers, collecting fees for providing call logging, premium and other enhanced services. Bell's lawyers fought back, arguing that CALL-NET's restructuring was in effect designed to circumvent the new rules. They said that its subscribers were not really a co-operative because CALL-NET offered to provide enhanced services at a discount, thus from financial rates. On Aug. 18, six days after the extension date, Bell cut CALL-NET's rates, but the CRTC outlined them without pending a review.

CALL-NET beat Bell, and six weeks later, on Oct. 17, 1988, the federal cabinet intervened, ordering Bell to back off and restore services until the lawsuit was concluded. Now, months later, Kadar, his 70 employees and 1,000 subscribers continue to live in the shadow of the gallows. In December, CALL-NET lost its first court hearing again Bell and has applied for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. In January, the CRTC decided to consider hearings again into the whole issue of reselling and sharing and is allowing CALL-NET to continue for one more year.

Clearly, Kadar is in a man caught in the middle of a policy navel and his company deserves to live. The CRTC cannot seem to walk up its mast, and cabinet seems unwilling to simply reverse the CRTC's decision, which it can do. Instead, it merely prolongs the policy confusion as small-businesses are asked to shoulder an unfair portion of the long-distance industry burden. Said Kadar: "If I had known what was involved, I don't think I would have done this." But Kadar says the final solution may only come if Bell Canada's monopoly is erased.



The stolen Turbo Commander at Sorel, Que., airport: a drama of rifles, agents and diplomatic activity

CANADA

FLIGHT INTO DANGER

ARMED U.S. AGENTS CHASED A PLANE INTO CANADA—AND OTTAWA COMPLAINED TO WASHINGTON

U.S. officers entering Canada by plane to apprehend suspects. "It's not recall another situation involving an arrest," said Vancouver RCMP Staff Sgt. J.D. Straver. "There will be an initial fit of discussion about it." Still, Montreal RCMP Staff Sgt. Jacques Léonard said that the U.S. authorities had followed proper procedures in entering Canadian U.S. Customs officers entered the department of national defense that the officers were entering Canada and asked for permission to take action if necessary. Grills said, but the Mounties were not informed immediately.

First and External Affairs officials and other Canadian authorities will investigate the incident further this week. According to some government officials, it is the first known instance of

A high-ranking RCMP officer, who asked not to be named, told Macleans that U.S. law enforcement officers are expected to contact Canada Customs or the RCMP before entering Canadian territory for enforcement purposes. Under these circumstances, the U.S. Customs plane would likely have received permission to land the Turbo Commander in Canadian airspace, the officer said, and police on the ground would have been notified to meet it when it landed. He added, "Within half an hour, there could be police on every lighted runway across the country." Asked whether proper procedures had been followed in the April incident, Ottawa-based RCMP Assistant Commissioner Marcel Courteau said, "All I can say is that this case has just happened. I am not in a position to assess all the details yet."

According to U.S. Customs and Drug Enforcement Administration sources, the pursuit began when U.S. air defense radar picked up the Turbo Commander off the south coast of Florida—a common route for cocaine smugglers from South America. Two U.S. air force fighters were ordered to the air, and they refueled en route to assume the pursuit. The suspect plane had not reached a flight plan—as required by American aviation regula-



Sorel suspects (left) under arrest: 'concern'

tions—and two hours earlier Canadian regulators had issued a temporary flight advisory to avoid American interception. It was flying unmarked airways at 26,000 feet. It entered Canadian airspace over New Scotia.

At Sorel, airport manager Robert Ethier said that an unidentified French-speaking man phoned at 9:45 p.m. to say that a plane would be coming in to refuel. After the call, Ethier waited in his office until the Commander touched down at about 11:25 p.m. The two occupants of the plane, both men in their late 20s, were about to drink some coffee when the U.S. Customs plane landed. The two men ran from the office, and Ethier, who were quickly confronted by the armed officers. Ethier said that an officer entered his office and demanded to shoot his brother dog if it did not stop barking. One of the officers also shot a rifle into the ribs of Ethier's son, Carl, 20, who said that he had been in the nearby oilfield from the time of his birth, learning that his father was being abducted by terrorists. Meanwhile, the other two officers approached the plane and the air force fighters.

Ethier said that his son, Carl, was bleeding from being forced to lie face down on the pavement, even though he had identified himself as the manager of the airport. Quebec provincial police, commanded by Det. warden Paul Grills, were the first Canadian authorities on the scene. Ethier first arrived about 12:10 a.m. At that point, he added, the U.S. officers read the two suspects their rights—as required by U.S. law in Spanish. At about the same time, a U.S. Sikorsky Black Hawk helicopter, with Ethier

and coroner two American military men in camouflage clothing, also landed. Grills said that four air force officers arrived on the scene at about 12:20.

Both U.S. and Canadian authorities interrogated the two suspects and Ethier in the airport office until after 6 a.m. Ethier claimed that the Turbo Commander was at view because the man he landed and the U.S. Customs officers served. A report in the Montreal Gazette quoted sources as saying that contraband cargo had been unloaded from the plane was a small dark truck and takes from the airport before the U.S. officers arrived. But Ethier said that he did not see that activity, adding that a red stamp truck was the parking lot immediately when the customs came. (See Justice, page 10.) Ethier also said that he heard police officers speculate that the plane may have dropped its cargo over New Brunswick because of a mistake, according to one source. Ethier, who said that the landing in Sorel might have been planned to divert attention from an drug bust.

The two occupants of the Commander were charged by Canadian police with a variety of relatively minor infractions, including illegal entry and bringing a stolen plane into the country. Diego Jose Cesario, 27, a Cuban born resident of Manaw, and Hector Chacanano Sefano, 28, a Venezuelan born resident of Colombie-Britannique, both pleaded guilty to all the charges and paid \$21,800 at法庭 from America cash—variously estimated at \$26,000 and \$30,000—that they were carrying. Last week, immigration authorities deported them to their countries of origin. The plane, worth approximately \$400,000, was seized by the officer, who said that they do not expect it to be recovered.

Still, questions remained about the procedures that the U.S. officers observed when entering Canada and on the ground. One high-ranking Ottawa RCMP officer told Macleans that there was plenty of time during the chase to make proper contact. And he added that U.S. drug enforcement officers can be notoriously uncommunicative. "They get overwhelmed and forget what they're doing," he said. "They just want to get to the end of the road."

Still, questions remained about the procedures that the U.S. officers observed when entering Canada and on the ground. One high-ranking Ottawa RCMP officer told Macleans that there was plenty of time during the chase to make proper contact. And he added that U.S. drug enforcement officers can be notoriously uncommunicative. "They get overwhelmed and forget what they're doing," he said. "They just want to get to the end of the road."

about horizon." They want to make sure that they're on the side of good, the other government officials said. "They just want to get to the end of the road."

ERIC DAHLBERG AND DAN BURKE in Montreal and BOBBY LAYFER in Ottawa

National Notes

CHILEAN JAM

Health Minister Pierre Audet and the importers of Chilean fruit, originally scheduled for destruction because of a possible recall, will not be sold to Canadians, except possibly as fully imported jams, jellies or juice. Some fruit may be shipped to the United States, but it will be destroyed.

QUESTIONS IN WRITING

New Brunswick's Liberal government, which has held all 37 seats in the legislature since the Oct. 13, 1987, election, began fielding questions from the opposition. A new procedure allows the Conservatives and New Democrats to submit written questions to be read by the clerk of the Legislative Assembly.

STRIKING THE CFC

A strike by 2,800 CFC employees, members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, went into its second week. Canadian Press Telecom Co. defended its "state of emergency" a union claim that the walkout is costing the CFC \$300,000 a day in lost advertising revenues.

SAXIM'S FOOD

Montreal Finance Minister Clayton Menzies said that he supports a controversial recommendation to extend the proposed national sales tax to apply it to food purchases. Menzies was responding to a Consumers Association of Canada report calling on Ottawa to make as proposed tax as broad as possible to keep the overall rate low.

LUCRATIVE SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Statistics Canada reported that the highest-earning Canadians are the self-employed, with an average income of \$25,000 a year. The lowest average—\$17,783—is reported by those receiving financial assistance. Wages and salary earners reported an average income of \$23,322.

ETHNIC SUPPORT

In an interview from the Caribbean island of St. Lucia, Dr. Mario (Dante) Atkinson, son of Ben Johnson's doctor, called for the legalization of marijuana, saying that use of the mind-altering drug can be a "cure" for depression, "a sport." Michael, in Washington, D.C., son of boxer Carl Lewis, and that the Canadian had been taking steroids long before he was disqualified for their use after winning an Olympic gold medal at Seoul last year.



Getty and wife, Margaret, on defeat: 'It was a real slap in the face for Brian'

A quarterback sack

The Alberta Tories win, the premier loses

For most Alberta Conservatives, it was a Pyrrhic victory. On March 30, the party won its ninth straight provincial election, taking 59 of Alberta's 83 seats—only two less than a half century ago. But, that majority masked results that plagued the Tories, and, agonizing, unanticipated soul-searching. Their share of the popular vote fell to 44 per cent from 54 per cent at the 1988 provincial election—the first time since 1972 that the party has attained fewer than half the votes. But even more devastating for the Tories was the loss of Premier Donald Getty's own Edmonton riding of Whitemud. Getty totally remained silent about his plans. But while these Alberta Conservatives publicly praised their leader, there was considerable criticism in private of his handling of the campaign, including demands to give the poll less than three years into a five-year mandate. Said Calgary lawyer Tony Johnson, "It's just easier: 'Getty took the buck of a needless campaign as well as a campaign of needless promises as it is a real slap in the face for him'."

Indeed, when Getty called the election on Feb. 20, there was no apparent reason for it. And for the Tories—who have governed Alberta for the past 15 years—that attempt to catch the opposition off guard plainly failed. The premier's strategy of costly campaign promises—including a pledge to give \$6000 less of necessary roads at a cost of at least \$2 billion—drew criticism not only from political

opponents but also from some Tories. And the opposition accused the premier of getting the election out of the way before Calgary lawyer William Cade presents the potentially rebarbering findings of his 26-month inquiry into the multi-billion-dollar collapse of the Principal Group Ltd. federal conglomerate.

On voting day, that translated into support for the province's struggling Liberal party, led by former Edmonton mayor Lamont Denme. The largest constituency of that support Getty himself, defeated by Liberal candidate Peter Wickens, a wheelchair-bound, once-yes-veteran Edmonton councillor. The year, holding steady at 16 seats, was renamed as the official opposition, while the Liberals doubled their representation to eight. But they also managed to surge to second place in the popular vote, soaring to 28 per cent from 12, surpassing the New Democrats, who slipped to 27 per cent from 38. SE Seán Óséas, who won the Edmonton Glasgow riding by 3,427 votes: "Who can say we did not succeed when we finished at the bottom of the pyramid?"

Even Ralph Klein, who has spent 20 years as a Calgary political player, led the backlash against the Tories. Although Klein, a former Liberal recruited by Getty to help him to run as a provincial Conservative, was in Calgary February, it was by a relatively narrow 82 votes, enough to win a looking victory—leaving his political future and the future of Alberta's government just up in the air at the time being.

But Getty promised him a cabinet post and a key leadership role in southern Alberta. But if the premier deserts politics, the party leadership—not cabinet posts—becomes the critical item in the Tory agenda. Alberta Tories have traditionally alternated their leaders between the northern and southern parts of the province. With the Tories holding only one of Edmonton's 17 seats, that tradition will enhance the position of any leadership candidate from Calgary—where the Conservatives hold 13 of 18 seats. For his part, Klein refused to rule out a campaign for the leadership.

But the Calgary area may also yield other strong contestants for Getty's job. Among them: Education Minister James Durnin, 34, and Labor Minister Rick Goris, 43, a former Getty aide—both viewed with strong majorities. The leadership race may also attract Treasurer Richard Johnson, 49, of Lethbridge, who has held the ministerial moniker offices and parliamentary liaison portfolios during a 14-year career in provincial politics. Another potential candidate: Health Minister Nancy Bateson, 49, although her rating in Edmonton and among other candidates from outside the Tory caucus is former energy minister John Turner, 41, who left the cabinet in 1988 to practice law.

For the time, the election failed to produce another, head-scratching like its predecessor (showing in the 1986 election, when it increased its representation in the legislature by 16 seats from two). Acknowledged Leader Raymond Macnaul: "We are not the type of party to sweep the province." Still, in Dethroned Calgary, the new applied a well-timed Conservative attempt to defeat its two Calgary M.P.s, Robert Hewittsmith and energy critic Barry Pankratz.

But it was the Liberals, who had appeared to be making strides during the campaign, who made the most significant strides. Beaton's pledge of strong financial management seemed to gain appeal as the list of expensive Conservative campaign pledges lengthened. But the Liberal, in the spotlight on election night, was Wickens, who defeated Getty by 322 votes. Confined to a wheelchair since he was paralysed in an industrial accident 22 years ago, Wickens had switched to the Liberals from the New Democrats to take on the minister in upper-middle-class Whitemud. In 1986, Getty had won by 2,581 votes. But the Liberal ran a tough campaign, demonstrating an infinite number of quirks that the premier refused to admit for his enemies. Said Wickens: "It hurt Getty when he did not show up."

Lost were, after a winning bid with his cabinet, Getty's words that he would decide his political future soon—adding that the disappearance of his electoral defeat had been caused by the support given him by his colleagues. "It was tremendous," he said. "They are a great group of people." With that, the premier plunged into a walking lamento—leaving his political future and the future of Alberta's government just up in the air at the time being.

JOHN HOWIE in Calgary

A search for savings

The Tories are expected to raise taxes

For generations, Canada's transcontinental passenger train service—carrying travellers from coast to coast on a 5,855-km journey—has been an enduring symbol of national unity. But in an era of ever-tighter federal budgets, politicians are questioning whether the country can afford to continue subsidizing what have become expensive losses on the rail. Federal Transport Minister Brad Bowes will decide this year whether to drop the transcontinental service, which cost the government about \$200 million last year. But in doing so, he will face a dilemma familiar to every politician who has tried to cut government spending: are the financial savings worth the political backlash they often promise? Said Paul Raynor, a spokesman for Via Rail, the Crown corporation which operates the passenger service: "There is a price tag on nostalgia, and it's up to the politicians to measure the political cost of tempering with the wading load of Confederation."

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and members of his Conservative government are clearly aware of the perils of spending cuts. In 1985 the Tories came under fierce attack from senior citizens when they announced plans to reduce the role of the state in old-age pensions. That led the government to withdraw that plan. Now, as Mulroney prepares to recall Parliament on April 3, senior Tories say that his government is likely to try to reduce its \$38-billion deficit by increasing taxes rather than significantly cutting spending. The April 3 throne speech will open the session and outline the government's strategy for its second term will reinforce the theme of austerity that the Conservatives have been advancing since January. Both government and opposition MPs predicted that the dollar deficit reduction would dominate the coming weeks. And Tory members say that they are eager for Parliament to resume, enabling them to put political controversies that domi-

nated the winter recess behind them.

Specific measures to reduce the deficit will not be revealed until Finance Minister Michael Wilson presents a new budget, expected by mid-April. He will likely increase both personal and corporate income taxes, and outline plans for a national sales tax. Said Roger Hand, president of the Canadian Chamber of Com-



Wilson (left), Mulroney: a budget in likely in mid-April

nace, which has lobbied for lower government spending: "The Tories have done the groundwork and the selling job needed to convince people that the deficit is a problem which needs to be tackled with immediately. But unless they cut their own spending plan will be scuttled ahead of time."

The Tories will likely accompany tax hikes with a confirmation of their commitment to a social program priority—but not deliver—it—in their first move in the throne speech.

which Senator Lowell Murray and Stanley Hart, Mulroney's chief of staff, are drafting, the government is expected to introduce a national child care program and create job retraining programs tailored to ease my economic upturn caused by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. But the throne speech will not likely offer many new initiatives, those designed to promote such popular priorities as environmental protection and expanded trade with Pacific Rim countries.

The Commons has not yet seen it passed the first reading on Christmas Eve—a break of more than three months. As a result, with most government activity restricted to the closed door process of budget review, attention has focused on a series of political measures by the Tories. Controversy surrounded Revenue Canada's decision to temporarily suspend capital gains tax on the sale of residential buildings.

The Senate, House, and Standing Senate and Treasury Affairs Minister Joe Clark over the measure's statements that Canada should upgrade its relations with the Falun Liberal Organization. But perhaps most damaging was the bureaucratic wrangling between the transport department and the Canadian Aviation Safety Board over how the government monitors its traffic safety page 50.

Still, it is the seeming contradictions which have since the most to dampen Ottawa's new policies for the second term. And some Tory westerners complain that the new climate of austerity has revealed the lack of original ideas on the part of most cabinet ministers and senior bureaucrats. Said one former Mulroney adviser: "There is no creative thinking on how to create new programs and policies in the climate of less government spending." But other observers claim that Canadians are looking for change in administration—political, administrative—from the Conservative era. Said George Perrin: "The Tories were not given any mandate for radical new policies. But they simply decided to kill off the Tories were not supposed to handle the complexities of modern political issues." With Parliament set to return, Canadians will soon have a chance to measure just how well the government is doing that job.

FRANCIS WALLACE with ROSS LAFER and CRAIG DUNN in Ottawa

ANNIVERSARY ON THE ROCK

**NEWFOUNDLANDERS
STILL HAVE MIXED
FEELINGS ABOUT
THEIR DECISION
TO JOIN CANADA
40 YEARS AGO**

It was the start of the federal fiscal year, and the government of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent had chosen April 1, 1949, as the official date for Newfoundland's entry into Confederation. But an angry Joseph Smallwood, the Newfoundland premier who had sheltered his people over the Canadian family the year before after years of campaigning and two holly contorted referendums, demanded a change. As he was later to say, "I wasn't going to rechristen Confederation on April Fool's Day." Ottawa capitulated—and the act creating the province of Newfoundland, Canada's 10th, came into force at one minute to midnight the night before. Now, 40 years later, the flora still bloom within Joey Smallwood's almighty 18,800-square-mile state, but the scars of a stroke suffered in 1984, and a family members' interpret his silent, often enigmatic reactions to the questions of the subsequent visitors to his house 50 km northwest of St. John's, where the diminutive, be-spangled Smallwood sits surrounded by the books, photographs and personal papers that are a testament to his 22 years as premier.



Smallwood feeling fine

But while his eloquence among Newfoundlanders into Confederation it could not move his party, he was the province's first and last Liberal premier. He was followed by Progressive Conservative premiers Frank Moore in 1972 and Brian Peckford seven years later. Lost were former fisheries minister Thomas Rutland, 49, who served as Peckford's successor and premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, which, while still heavily dependent on its prosperity on the sea, began some resemblance to the little-known and chronically bankrupt British colony it had been for generations. But as the retiring Peckford yielded the reins of power to Robt. Bourassa, the balance sheet of Newfoundland's purse in the past decade was not auspicious.

Peckford's single greatest achievement was his July 1 signing of the federal-provincial tax-sharing agreement by which Newfoundland will benefit from offshore resources, including the giant NL-Southern Minerals oil project. However, related petroleum and gas ventures are seen by many Newfoundlanders as a takeover of future prosperity. Sir Francis Pelly, a 53-year-old former fisheries and schoolteacher who is now an airport security guard in the northern town of Bay Roberts, says, "We were better off after Confederation, but we never caught up with the other provinces. With the onset of fibres, I am more hopeful than I have been in years."

However, in the March 31 deadline for signing the final agreement approached that week, there were indications that it might be delayed for at least a year. Some sources say that the books were reassessing and that the books were reassessing doubts in Ottawa was reassessing as priorities.

There are many other problems besetting the province as well. Newfoundlanders are locked into a 30-year-old contract that obliges it to sell Quebec electricity generated by the Likedale Churchill Falls power plant at a fraction of its true market value. And the fishery is troubled. Earlier this year, federal

fisheries scientists revised their estimates of the stock of northern cod off eastern Newfoundland and Labrador. The quota, or total allowable catch, for large Canadian companies pursuing the species that had first forced Newfoundland and Labrador to the fish-rich banks off Newfoundland 40 years ago was reduced by 20 per cent.

Opposition: And Newfoundland, although rich in its history, culture and family feeling, has the highest sales tax—17 per cent—the highest rate of unemployment—13 per cent in January—and the lowest per capita income in Canada. It remains heavily dependent on transfers for payments and other money flows from Ottawa. Memorial University political scientist Stephen Tweddle says, "Fifty cents of every dollar spent there is a Ottawa's money." As well, one of Newfoundland's greatest exports remains its people. The bumper crop of young Newfoundlanders to Baffin Island and other ports abroad that marked the pre-Confederation years continues. Last year alone, more than a half a million in the past decade, more than 4,000 more people left Newfoundland than moved to—or returned to—the province.

In southern Ontario alone, there are close to 500,000 Newfoundlanders, with their own monthly newspaper, *The Newfoundland*, stores and businesses. Some of them are the Galloping Gourmet Howard Soule, with seven customer service companies in Newfoundland and the Toronto area. Says Soule, "The only thing that drove me out was the

St. John's Lt.-Gov. James McGrath (below, left) and Robt. Bourassa: "better off"

situation." For now, however, it was an encouraging lack of opportunity. Asa Bell, president of the provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women, has five sons, four of whom she says "had to leave the province to get employment. That's a reality of Newfoundland."

As a result, some Newfoundlanders still entertain strong misgivings about joining Canada.

In a March 11 letter to the St. John's Evening Telegram, Ronald J. Brown of Port au Choix said in St. John's wrote that the 40th anniversary ought to "cause to call off the centrepiece." Said Brown, "We have lost our pride in ourselves and our country, given our fate to Ottawa and any party who will fight for it, accepted welfare as a national policy, seen

our unemployment rate soar at double the national average." However, a new generation of Newfoundlanders is reaching adulthood in a province that, although still Canada's poorest, has shown but a first sense of identity and cultural vigor and now shows signs of economic strength and political maturity (page 196).

Feeling: For the most part, those young people feel comfortable within the Canadian family. Says 25-year-old Victoria Stanley, just chosen a Rhodes Scholar, and a former member of the production crew of the largely successful Newfoundland-based commercial intrinsic television series *Circle*: "I am a Newfoundlander first and then a Canadian, but I think I have more the feeling of being Canadian than the桂冠 before." Bound for Oxford University in the fall, she says, "If I hadn't been going to England I might not as well have gone to Toronto. You can't live in this place and not get a sense of it. I will miss it. Newfoundlanders are different, they have a great sense of humor and they won't put up with anything from anybody." Said Ed Smith, assistant superintendent of the Green Bay school district in the north coast community of Springfield: "The kids use the same terms in Canadian and Newfoundlanders both. Confederation brought a lot of social good, especially socially."

Forty years ago, Confederation also brought a diverse of complications and good wishes from mainland Canada and abroad. In April 1949, *Montreal Gazette* and *Mail and Star* "An exciting day for Newfoundland, as people work to find themselves Canadian. They will put Canadian stamp on the letters they post. These children will be sending to schools on roads that are part of Canada. Their fathers, Canadian soldiers, will be catching Canadian flies from Canadian tents. Having lost nothing they have surely gained a great deal." In Lévis, the news column of *The Transcript*, "The union will bring to realize the vision of the Fathers of Confederation of a nation extending from sea to sea which incorporates into a single entity all British North America north of the United States."

But public: Others celebrated the occasion in different ways. Percy George, the mayor of Victoria, B.C., dispatched a load of Newfoundland salmon to a Texas-Canada Airlines four Air-Castle propeller-driven North Star airship to Newfoundland as its lieutenant-governor, lawyer Albert Walsh. From Parliament Hill in Ottawa, where, on March 30, April 1, Prime Minister St. Laurent opened the first session of the Newfoundland coast of into the base of the Peace Tower, came a 20-gallon salter and a pot of the tower's candle.

In some parts of the newly united province, however, jubilation was more restrained. The St. John's *Daily News* reported that "quite a number of provincial citizens" failed to attend a gathering at Government House in St. John's, the province's and its only capital city whose officials voted nearly 3 to 1 against Confederation. Through many Newfoundlanders had long lived on the cutting edge of poverty, and union with Canada promised ready economic man-



UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT OIL AND FISH CLOUD THE FUTURE OF THE PROVINCE

days, Confederation was widely lamented elsewhere, too, dividing communities and even families. Says Art Bell: "My mother was for, and my father was against. My father stopped smoking. He and he'd never be able to afford it again."

Warning: Ed Smith was only nine. "But I remember the day. My father, a United Church minister, was anti-Confederation, but for me it was a day of mourning. There were days at half-mast, and some people wore black arm bands." Memorial University professor of philosophy F. Lee Jackson says that the feeling toward Canada "was very flat, in fact it's not just lost as our sole right to the confederation in the first half century since 1949."

Meanwhile, Smallwood, because of his stroke, is unable to defend the legacy of his achievement. But he still receives the visits of the Gregory Power crew, an intiacy of finance, was anxious in influence only to Smallwood himself in the premier's head first decade in office. "Confederation has had its faults," said Power last week. "But it brought great benefits with it. You have to remember how things were. For instance, we took \$400 million in roads in those first 20 years." Roads were only one of an array of material benefits that were to include an enhanced educational system, pensions, family allowances, transfer payments, unemployment insurance and medical care. Says Power: "Yes, there is still some bitterness, but I suppose when a people have a better campaign they remember it longer."

Turnabout: Inland communities longed for well-drilled, resource-rich inland with an 8,000-km coastline of reefs, corals, salens and seahs, which like a huge sponge soak off the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The 1849 marriage with Canada in only a footnote to a rich but turbulent personal history that reaches back to the Vikings. A presence of European habitation well after 1867 was claimed as a British possession by Sir Alexander Galt in 1883. The first fiscal settlement was at Capes on Conception Bay in 1850 with, according to an account of the time, 100,000 persons who will accommodate with all the necessary...

Dale James, Conception Jennifer, Gertie, Irene and Lynne, the last generation of the expedition, and grandson of Dennis's first landing at the New World, was Sir John Guy who on an earlier trip had been impressed with Capes' harbour, timber, fresh water and apparently fertile soil. The experiment soon failed, scurvy-stricken settlers, debilitated by the cold, emigrated largely that the soil could grow only root vegetables and that, when maple leaf short, were forced to drink their beer with water.

But Capes survived and in the home now of families like that of Harold Atkinson, the 46-

year-old manager of a grocery distribution business founded by his father, William. Atkinson's seven children are the seventh generation of the family at the rough but peaceful-party Conception Bay community. Interviewed in the office of a warehouse brimming with boxes of general-store power and supplies, Atkinson talked of the possibility of mapping his office with a computer system and then recalled his great-grandfather who had also once been forced by the vagaries of a rising British ship. Says Dennis's Jackson: "What people on the mainland may not



Smallwood in 1949: Ottawa gave in to realism in that history has been burned into people's souls."

In fact, says Ross Hart, director of Memorial University's Centre for Newfoundland Studies, the initial "yes" settled in defiance of the British colony, which wanted it for a British fishery and a military port for seamen. "The prevailing view among Newfoundlanders," says Hart, has been "that we're stupid, we have to live here at all. It's a feeling that we are here in spite of ourselves." But its people, predominantly descendants of Irish and West Country English settlers (and still with few immigrants from elsewhere), clung to the seafaring and made a living from the sea. And having survived, says Hart, Newfoundlanders have a sense of achievement and dignity in their land and culture that has responded to the boasting of the rest and fol-

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FACING THE FUTURE

A TOWN BENEFITS FROM OFFSHORE OIL

When James Mayo left his Burn Peninsular community of Marysville to Tucana in 1965, he left a village of 1,200 that offered limited opportunities for a 16-year-old carpenter's son with a Grade 10 education. When he returned permanently in 1979, by then a certified accountant with five children, his formerly sleepy and struggling home town had changed almost beyond recognition. Under a program of Joseph Smallwood's government in the 1960s to resettle the people of 680 Newfoundland outport communities into what he called selected "growth centers," Marysville had been transformed into a small but swelling metropolis. In fact, with a new shipyard, modern fish-processing plant and power plant, capacity coming to 25,000 kilowatts for the area, the river has become the commercial hub of the region. But Mayo, 51, now the town manager of Marysville, "I don't want to go overboard on this, but this change was a very pleasant sight to see."

Mayo, among many Newfoundlanders who left their villages for the 77 growth centers, the Smallwood government's initiative is still a matter of dispute. But for Marysville—120 miles west of St. John's across Placentia Bay—the change has brought a measure of prosperity. The town now has two new shopping malls and other amenities such as the comfortable new Spanish River Lounge in the three-story, 130-room Hotel Mariner '82, the true emblem of the community's change—and ahead of the province's future. In fact, the 880-employee Marysville Shipyards' Cow Head facility, set on kilometers east of the town, Cow Head, and supervised by president Donald Steele, is the only facility east of Halifax that is equipped to repair the oil rigs and build offshore production platforms. And for many Newfoundlanders, all in the promise of the future. Like other provincial lawmakers, the provincial govern-

ment-owned shipyard has been preparing to profit from an expected windfall when the offshore Hibernal Oil field finally goes into production—probably by the mid-1990s. "We are," he said, "looking at a major expansion."

In fact, Steele said that the company has already sent 70 of its employees for training in Norway, where offshore oil is already a major



Oil rig at Cow Head facility: "a very pleasant sight to see."

stay of the economy. That and other preparatory measures are based on the fact that, in its first six years of production, Hibernal is expected to provide 14,000 man-years of employment. And businesspeople, scientists and researchers in other parts of the province are also preparing for the anticipated boom. At Memorial University in St. John's, members of the faculty called the Centre for Cold-Ocean Resources Engineering are spearheading an exploration of the offshore oil park, at which about 20 foreign scientists and engineers are now also taking part.

Director Jack Clark said that a study of pack ice of Labrador will, among other things, help determine the effect of ice on drilling equipment. "We are interested in what happens when it surrounds a drilling rig" and Clark

Conrad research, he added, should enable contractors to build their rigs with the strength to withstand the tremendous pressures of ice movement. Meanwhile, other scientists at the centre are engaged in different areas of interest—among them the source of the ocean flow by coring. Bill Clark, "The question is how deep would you have to bury a pipeline to avoid damage?"

But the 12,000-student university—where John Malpas, head of the world renowned earth sciences department, has gained international recognition for his mapping of the province's science and business communities, St. John's is also the home of the Canadian Helicopter Corp., the third-largest helicopter service firm in the world. With some of its fleet of 200 helicopters now servicing all rigs as far away as Baffinland, the company clearly hopes to capitalize on Hibernal—280 miles southwest of Newfoundland. And its chairman, a rough-and-ready 53-year-old named Doug Dobbin, is also chairman of the regional oil company Ar Athlone and holds an interest in another Atlantic, Octagon Express.

Attitude: But rigs and options are also reflected in Newfoundland's artistic scene. "There is an increasing level of activity at the arts here," said Gordon Gostick, director of Memorial's art gallery. Anne Hawley, director of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, pointed to the recent multiplication of "exquisitely lively" theatrical groups as further evidence of the province's artistic health. And Gostick added that a number of mainland Canadian artists have recently been moving to the province. "It seems to be a deliberate choice because of the unique culture here," she said. "They need it."

Mayo, whose great-grandfather was Marysville's first settler—and that he can understand the desire to live in the province. For one thing, he said, Newfoundland may be at a turning point in its history. But another reason for the province's appeal, he added, may simply be the flavor of Newfoundland, where, he says, people are more "in tune with their culture" than residents of Central Canada. After spending two decades in Tucana and Ontario, Mayo said that it was not the art, culture or hoped-for prosperity that drew him home, "but more just the way of life." Declared Mayo: "My wife tells me all the time I was in Tucana I never left Newfoundland. I never lost the taste for the big."

GLEN ALLEN in Marysville

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'A STUPEFYING WRENCH'

A NEWFOUNDLANDER REMEMBERS THE PAST

BY RAY GUY

A Conference with Canada, assumed 40 years ago on April Fool's Day, Newfoundlanders had their heads twisted around away from the ocean to face the continental northwest. It was a stupefying wrench. We were violently thrown from our perceived position at the centre of an ocean world to a new one in the outer fringes of a continent. A less pig-headed race and one without 400 years of adventure-attempt history believed it might have gone along-for naught.

We used to see ourselves as a sort of New-World Belgians—everyone had to pass by our door to get somewhere else. We were the great ship moored between Europe and America. But in 1949, we were pitched in with a country strung together by a geographical railway line. Newfoundland, formerly the jewel of the universe, was suddenly at the far end of continents, a tiny, postage-stamp land less, where even that is now being ripped up and the rusty little rails chopped off by sea to be melted down into Hamilton smelters. Though we've lost even our rails, we still cling to our memories and, despite Newfie jabs to the contrary, we know it is not us among Canadians who are the isolated, humpbacked, the awkward neophytes at the offices of the world.

As might be expected, more than a touch of the major mentality has set in, and when the young girls bat, we're not above pinching even the household less-a-lac from the rumparts. In the house where I grew up, there were bundles of splitting books from Boston, like from the convents of Maltese, a sandwich brought back from Naples and a concertina from Cuba, a lumpy bag of coral from Corfu for a decoupage, a bush in the yard that came in a captain's cabin from Somers, globules of hardened sap called dragon's blood from the Canaries and, in the basement, sun-dried laurel leaves picked on the island of St. Helena "where we locked away Old Benny."

In the four decades since 1949, there have

been only two additions, I notice, to the coastline at the old homefront—a jet of sand from St. Peter's Beach in Portia, and a tiny whale battle in the shape of the oil Tower on Terra Nova.

Newfoundland has much of history, but little of it is Newfoundland between hard covers. We have to make do with a sort of thick stew of anecdotes, ancient and modern, a sort of first-hand tribal memory. Even those who live here must make allowances for hasty histories, for pure well-locked uplife tourists and the wistful

but reasonable talk with the Quai d'Orsay, that we must bear in mind the potential sale of plane Ontario dividends to the New Europe, that France and Canada share a common heritage.

If I recall, And did not that great hero of Canada, Despiser le Diable, and his folk laud St. John's to the ground not once but three times, searching all nightlong for 100 miles-around, flagging imported Canadian Indians to terror and slaughter, passing our wells with withered root, sowing salt in our vegetable gardens?



The shoreline at Elliston: boats from Boston, face from Madeline and coral from Corfu

thinking. So I was not completely convinced—not until I later saw with my own eyes the Great Britain flag at Gander—of the viracity of the ancestors about the old crone who rental her TV screen "God, damn thy eyes! See! High time for thee, now, to last the 'No Quarter'."

I had doubts about that story, even though our Old Crone was supposedly from the Barbary Fossils, where they still say "she" and "they" and "whirly-laced" and "weeby-murched" and "big-levered" and other such serges of Elizabethan usage. It was possible, just, that there was a remembrance of "No Quarter," but could draw a sign to the effect that you are about to slaughtered without mercy to the last man. When had we last seen our ancestral Old Crone? Was the television image of the Canadian minister of fisheries talking about French claims to fishing rights off Newfoundland, saying that Canada must hold

patches, living on naked to the world and to the harsh winter, shipping us off to chance and to death? It depends on where you sit, and Newfoundland's seat is Confederation is not always easy.

At the air-control centre in Gander there's a glimpse of what Newfoundland was or what we thought it was. Once every 24 hours, the air fleets of North America receive their eastward transatlantic positions from Gander, and each day the passengers and cargo of Europe get their flight paths westward. On a wall of that great room hangs there's an unauthorised Newfoundland flag of an altogether modest size, 25 feet long and 15 feet high, guaranteed to sold the soul of any proper Newfoundland. Green stripes are interwoven and when they are, sometimes, sometimes during a lift in the skies above the centre of the world, climbs a ladder to the colors with a hammer and a few more nails.

Ray Guy is a freelance writer and regular columnist for the St. John's Sunday Express.

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SHAMIR UNDER FIRE

AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT MUST NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH THE PLO

For the past three months, pressure has been building on Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to reverse the country's decades-old policy and agree to talk with the militant Palestine Liberation Organization. Always has answer been a wait that politicians usually try to avoid—"Never." And always Shamir has argued that there are moderate Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to whom Israel should talk instead. But last week—as he was hosting a solidarity-with-Israel conference attended by prominent Jews from all parts of the world—Shamir's own intelligence services dealt a crushing blow to his position. In a report to the cabinet, obtained by the *Monitor*, the intelligence chief concluded that Israel had no choice but to negotiate with the PLO if it wanted to end the 15-month-old conflict, or, if opting, in the occupied territories.

Shamir denied the reports, describing them as "a total lie." But the Israeli daily that published the report stood by: Defense ministry sources confirmed for *Shamir's* that the intelligence services had indeed presented the assessment, and the director general of Shamir's own office appeared to back away from his chief's denial. The report emerged as U.S. officials press their own peace-making efforts in the Middle East and while Shamir prepared for an April 8 Washington meeting with President George Bush. The controversy also has taken just before the 30th anniversary on March 30 of Israel's Camp David peace treaty with Egypt. And Shamir's hands-free status drew attention to the fact that, in 1979, he had refused to endorse Camp David—while his foreign minister, Moshe Arens, had actually voted against it.

As the 1,500 participants of the solidarity conference—including a 50-strong Canadian



Israeli soldiers in Gaza; Shamir (background) competing for a publicity advantage

delegation—met in Jerusalem, the atmosphere remained with renewed intensity. During the week, one Palestinian was killed and at least 20 were injured by Israeli security forces, bringing the overall Palestinian death toll to 446. But a formal assessment issued at the end of the conference made no mention of either the spring or the PLO. It was an obvious attempt to strengthen Shamir's position before his Washington meeting with President George Bush. The controversy also has just before the 30th anniversary on March 30 of Israel's Camp David peace treaty with Egypt. And Shamir's hands-free status drew attention to the fact that, in 1979, he had refused to endorse Camp David—while his foreign minister, Moshe Arens, had actually voted against it.

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operation, Shin Bet, which deals with Israel's internal security and military intelligence affairs. The report concluded that there was no serious Palestinian leadership outside of the PLO and that the PLO had gradually moved toward moderation. In December when its leader, Yasir Arafat, announced his peace and declared his recognition of Israel's right to exist, Shamir and other members of his Likud party, who dominate the Likud-Labor "united" government, have insisted that Arafat's declaration cannot be trusted and that the PLO remains a terrorist organization.

Shamir's report, which analysis with Israeli officials "in the framework of preparing for the international conference"—a conference on the PLO musts on but that Shamir has firmly ruled out.

The U.S. delegation is expected to receive after Shamir's visit to Washington. Meanwhile, both sides in the Middle East conflict were competing for public relations advantages. Representing the PLO campaign at the United States was Arafat's personal representative, Nabil Shraer, who has been talking to American Jewish groups and members of the news media, among others. He told *Marlins*: "I was greatly encouraged by my encounters with Americans in general, and with Jewish Americans in particular." Predicted Shraer: "We will have an independent state in five years."

Shamir's optimism was based in part on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's recent groundbreaking assertion that the Israelis might eventually have to negotiate with the PLO. And, clearly, Israel's strong growing position could pull apart over the issue. Labor leader Yosef Scheuer-Perez, the party's chairman, reportedly returned to that position last week when he told the solidarity conference that "in the coming months" his party would have to make a historic choice: "Leibnitz's perniciousary faction, Hasho'ana, was more radical."

"There is no reason for Leibnitz to stay at the government if Shamir comes back from Washington without being 'bogged' by him," said Scheuer. A close PLO associate, Leibnitz' 47-year-old deputy Finance Minister Yossi Eitza, went a step further, calling openly for direct talks with the PLO in Jerusalem's walled Old City.

But members of the government's right wing gave no indication of a willingness to compromise. Likud members openly blamed Labor ministers for letting the embarrassing intelligence assessment to the media. And sources close to Shamir said that he had no intention of softening his stand. "Talks with the PLO could only lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state," Shamir told the solidarity conference, and that would "abolish" the peace of the country. "Ten years after Camp David, Shamir was still two weapons of Arab intention to take any advantage—and last week that seemed to be the message he planned to take to the White House."

JOHN BIERMAN and ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem and MARCY MISHOMED in Washington

World Notes

ALASKA ON SPILL

A U.S. tank barge carrying 1,250 million barrels of crude oil ran aground near the Alaskan part of Valdez and spilled a substantial part of its cargo from its damaged hull into Prince William Sound. The long end of spill in U.S. history, it will pose a serious risk to marine life if it drifts into the tourist area's many pristine coves and bays. A Canadian Coast Guard spokesman said that the oil was unlikely to reach British Columbia.

AIR CRASH IN BRAZIL

At least three members of a Transair Boeing 747 cargo plane—and at least 18 people on the ground—were killed and more than 200 people injured when the aircraft exploded into an experimental house and then into a coastal about 100 kilometers south of Rio de Janeiro.

DEATH IN LEBANON

Three Israeli soldiers with the UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon died when their truck ran over a mine on a road near the Israeli border. That raised to 183 the number of peacekeepers killed since the peace was set up in 1978.

YUGOSLAV VIOLENCE

The parliament of Yugoslavia's Kosovo province adopted unconstitutional changes that make it the state of Serbia, the country's largest republic. Kosovo's ethnic Albanians voted in protest because of their concern that the changes threaten their political and cultural rights.

A CONTRA DUEL

President George Bush announced agreement with leaders in Congress to provide about \$4.5 billion in combat assistance aid to the Nicaraguan contra rebels and that country holds free elections—now scheduled for February, 1990.

A FERRY WIPF

In an effort that is likely to heighten partisan tensions, conservative Georgia firebrand Newt Gingrich, 45, was elected majority whip in the House of Representatives—the Republicans' number 2 position in the chamber.

NEW WASTE RULES

In West Germany, 137 countries, including Canada, adopted a U.N.-sponsored global convention to banend waste that is intended to reduce "garbage imperialism"—the shipment of hazardous wastes from the industrialized world to developing nations that do not have proper disposal facilities.

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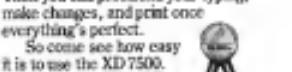
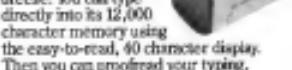
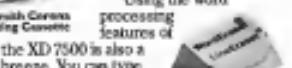
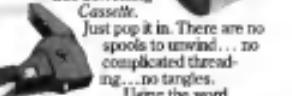
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EL SALVADOR

A shift to the right

War-weary voters choose a new president

The mood was apprehensive in San Salvador, a government-held town at the foot of a guerrilla-controlled volcano only 30 km from the capital, San Salvador. The few residents who had seen rebel roadblocks to vote in the country's March 13 presidential election did not leave their little finger stained in purple ink at the polling stations. The men lined for days and days to prevent multiple voting fraud, but soon officials said that the marking would make voters' potential targets for reprisal by Marxist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas, who had called for a nationwide boycott of the poll. In the end, the election appeared technically clean, and an undisputed victor quickly emerged. But the suspense in deciding who won by a tiny margin, even in the capital. Before the day was out, at least 40 people had been killed—three of them journalists—and prospects for peace after nine years of civil war seemed as dim as ever.

The winner of the election was Alfonso Cienfuegos, 45, the millionaire candidate of the right-wing National Republican Alliance (ANR). U.S. policymakers—who have favoured since the \$3.5-billion in military and economic aid to El Salvador since 1980—have portrayed the ruling Christian Democrats as champions of democratic modernization and middle-class defenders of the country's privileged élite aligned with paramilitary death squads. But the administration of President José Napoleón Duarte, 45, has suffered from charges of corruption, mismanagement

and above all, broken promises to end a war that has killed an estimated 70,000 people. With Duarte forbidden by the constitution to

suek a second five-year term—and suffering from terminal cancer—the Christian Democratic candidate was Fidel Chávez. To lend an air of respectability, Chávez's election propaganda had featured apocalyptic visions of what an ANR victory might mean. Television commercials equated soot with Nazism, and Chávez's campaign manager had called Chávez "El Salvadore's Hitler." But the tactic failed. And our diplomat in the capital, "Aito of Salvadorean Black Killing Committee is a good idea."

Death to "Reds" is the theme of the last verse of the ANR anthem, and Chávez sang the words with gusto at his final campaign rally on March 13 in San Vicente, 60 km east of the capital. At his side was Roberto D'Aubuisson, 43, the former army major who founded ANR along macho lines in 1981. Cienfuegos, who became leader in 1985 in the party's new face of moderation, is well-known in San Vicente. But the cheering was loudest for D'Aubuisson, whose power in the party remains unchallenged. That prominence prompted Democratic Representative Tom Cachón de Calderón, one of 23 U.S. observers at the election, to ask, "Can Chávez really be the president, or will



El Salvador's new president

Diary of a smart business traveller



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WORLD

D'Aubuisson on the government?

ARENA's power is now almost absolute. The party was control of parliament and most municipal governments last year. President-elect Chávez, who takes office in June, has pledged to wipe out corruption, privatize the oilfields, public sector and engage FMLN officials in a "working dialogue." He brooks at persistent questions about his power to enforce respect for human rights. "Judge us on our record in office," he said during the campaign. "Don't judge us on what you believe we will."

By his own admissions, Chávez is a political novice. An alumnus of Washington's Georgetown University, he has run sports tournaments, soccer and motor-cross racing—thus credentials for described business interests range from oilfield to pharmaceuticals. "Chávez is the standard of Salvadoran democracy," said biologist Francisco Alvarado. "He understands that paying his workers a little more achieves the same purpose as killing them when they complain."

The guerrilla leaders, administrators, typi-



Police searching voters in San Salvador: dim prospects for peace

table, voter apathy—and probably some outright support for the FMLN—condemned to probably the lowest election turnout in a decade. Only about half the 3.1 million registered voters cast ballots. ARENA was nearly 14 per cent of the vote, followed by the Christian Democrats with 36 per cent. The Democratic Convergence, a coalition of left-wing parties

claimed to have

one seat, and the

ARENA

claimed an

electoral

outlook

that contrasted the poll

the FMLN before,

was less than four per cent of the

vote. "In times of crisis, people gravitate to parties that project an image of strength and genuine severity," said pollster Ignacio Martínez Berríos. "ARENA has been successful at selling that image."

Salvadorans voters seem to

enjoy taking revenge on gov-

ernments that have failed

them. San José-based re-

idents largely voted for ARENA

because, in the words of one

local farmer, "the Christian

Democrats promised

and promised not deforest

wodding."

Unless Chávez lives up

to his promises, ARENA may

one day suffer the same fate.

"You'll see the left will win

one time if the military allows it," said Mario Soto, a San Salvador taxi driver who

condemned extensive polling of

the population.

For now, Salvadoreans have

decided to try Chávez as the leader of their

troubled country for the next five years.

ANDREW BULSKI with DAVID GOLDSTEIN
San Salvador

Diary of a smart business traveler



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WORLD

GREAT BRITAIN

Strange bedfellows

A sex-and-politics scandal arouses London

Broadsheet newspapers flacked last week to *Brooks-Schofield*—the hit film about a 1960s sex-and-politics affair that shook the Conservative governance of Edward Macmillan. But in the pages of the *Evening Standard* this week, Britain was being treated to a spacy new scandal that had many of the same ingredients: sex, politics and a possible threat to national security. The characters in the drama included a cabinet minister, several members of Parliament, two prominent newspaper editors and a top official of the MI5 security service. Using these disparate figures was the most compelling choice of all in a 25-year-old former Miss Earth named Penelope Border who considered a double life as a researcher at the House of Commons with a night-time career in a strip-tease club.

At first glance, the Bordes affair bore similarities to the 1963 scandal involving Britain's then-war minister, John Profumo. He slept with another government woman. Chos-

Kestler, who was also attacking with a deputy Sheriff's assault in Louisianna. Heavy Prefecture evidently had in mind the General's short but notorious liaison with Kestler; he was lured to Paris, and the other contestants in the defeat of the Tercier government a year later. A week, the tabloids said, he spent in prison. The stories offer as a scandal some magnificence—with one of them, "Today, even the *Border*—the *newspaper*—" But despite their most strenuous efforts, it was a short



Brands "with benefits"

so that history repeats itself: the first time as a tragedy, the second as a farce. The Prokofiev scandal was a tragedy—destroying a senior composer's career and ending in the suicide of Stephen Ward, the society aesthete who introduced Keeler to Prokofiev. But the Borden case was a farce: the Borden family had all the elements of lesser. There was nothing that any of the little linked with the Borden family had slept with her—and all presented a picture of her nocturnal attractions. And although some less experienced concern over Borden's reported liaison with Alvin Karpis, Al Davis, and the like, the FBI official, commented that British security had been seriously compromised. *Commentary* editor Jenkins of *The Sunday Times*: "The whole affair is two absurd, and law-breakin' fun, to point [up] any moral."

It began on March 12, when Britain's biggest-selling Sunday milled, the *Express*. Macmillan's *News of the World*, reported that Bowden had worked for two months as a research assistant for a Conservative MP, David Shore. As part of that job, Bowden was issued a pass to Parliament, allowing her to skip the security checks at MPs' visitors to the house.

Diary of a smart business traveller



Tuesday, 1:05 p.m... he signs the deal just in time for lunch. So I buy.
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WORLD

ing are subjected. The newspaper described Borden as a "top cold girl" who charged about \$1,000 a night for her sexual services. And it published a photo of a junior editor, Jennifer Mayhew, who had been loaned to a Conservative party charity ball in February.

As the story spread, a second Tory MP, Henry Bellinger, acknowledged that he had obtained the security pass for Borden because Shaw had used up his quota for such passes and then burst into laughter when Bellinger's editor told the *Conservative* that Borden's "credentials were checked thoroughly" before she was given a pass. But, while none of the politicians was accused of sleeping with Borden, the publicity threw a spotlight on the editor of another Murdoch-owned paper, *The Sunday Times*. Its bachelor editor, Andrew Neil, had briefly dated Borden last year. Neil kept silent last week, but his paper reported that after he had ended the relationship, Borden was so furious that she sacked several of his editors. Another senior editor, Donald Tostford of *The Observer*, was also photographed holding hands with Borden at a reception—but he strongly denied any impropriety.

The involvement of politicians and editors made for a lively story—but it was the emergence of Borden's link to the Libya affair that gave the affair a more serious twist. Several papers reported that she had stayed what one called "close enough" to Gaddafi's Al Dham, where they described as a cousin of Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi and a major in



Mayhew: a ride to a charity ball!

Libya's security service. Borden was allegedly flown to Paris and Tripoli for weekends with Gaddafi Al Dham. That led some MPs to wonder that parliamentary security had been breached. Declared Labour MP Dale Campbell-Savours: "If a link with Gaddafi was revealed, you would wonder on what basis, and for what

position, she was working in Parliament."

For Borden, it was yet the bleakest chapter in a remarkable life. Born Priscilla (she later added another 75) Singh Chaudhary in the northern Indian state of Haryana, she was raised in New Delhi. In 1962, she won the Miss India beauty contest and emerged consequently in the Miss Universe pageant in Lima, Peru, later that year. From there she went to New York—where she reportedly associated with such icons as the King of Rock and Soul Aretha Franklin, John Kroc, and the Pope. In 1964, she married a French businessman named Dominique Borden.

Last week, Fassina Borden remained in India, but the gave her side of the story to another Indian, Shashi Prasad, whose owner, soft-core pornography publisher David Salsbury, is a self-styled friend and former lover of Borden. Borden described to *Details* details of sexual adventures and acknowledged sleeping with about 20 men for money, but she maintained: "I am not a call girl in the normal sense of the word. On a few occasions I have gone to bed for money—usually when I was broke—but in the main I have just had a series of rich boyfriends who have showered me with gifts." The now-notorious Borden may not have to rely on such generosity for long: a prominent London agent last week suggested that she could command as much as \$3 million for the newspaper and movie rights to her life story.

ANDREW PHILLIPS ■ London

Diary of a smart business traveller



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NORTHERN IRELAND

A wave of bloodshed

The latest killings signal a new death siege

In the rugged, hilly territory called border country—just north of the border between the Republic of Ireland and British-controlled Northern Ireland—police and army troops usually travel by helicopter to avoid passage across the outlawed provisional Irish Republican Army. But on the afternoon of March 20, two senior police officers with Northern Ireland's Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) drove an unmarked car through the area on a lonely winding road. Suddenly, an approaching car swerved in front of the two officers and broke in. The unarmed policemen threw their car into reverse, but it became mired in mud. At least two gunmen jumped out of the opposite car, opened fire first at the critically wounded officers—then finished them off with a single pistol shot into each man's head. With that, RUC Chief Supt. Harry Brett, 55, and Supt. Bob Becham, 56, became the latest victims in a new wave of Ulster violence and the most



RUC constables open season on soldiers and police

senior police casualties in a conflict that has seen more than 2,000 people dead in two decades. RUC Chief Const. Sir John Hermon

called the killings "quite disastrous."

That attack brought the toll for the first 12 weeks of the year to 26 victims in an escalating series of刃-for刃 killings between the IRA—fighting for Irish reunification—and Protestant paramilitary units. The Protestant forces, which support the British link, accounted for nine of the slayings this year, nearly as many as they killed in all of 1988. The day before Hermon and Becham were ambushed, David Brazil, 63, a Roman Catholic father of 13, was shot dead in his north Belfast home—apparently by Protestant paramilitaries. The violence again partly for 1989, which marks the 20th anniversary of the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland—and the start of the army's military campaign against British rule. Supt. Rev. William McCrea, a member of the British Parliament representing the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland, "The government has lost control of the situation while the terrorist cause undeterred throughout the land."

Last week's slayings raised concerns about how the IRA—which claimed responsibility for the killings—know where to find the police. Brett and Becham were returning from a hastily arranged meeting with the border with their police counterparts at Dungah, Ireland, to discuss joint patrols effects. Some observers said that there may have been a leak as the Republic under a change uncharacteristically denied. "A lot of emphasis has been laid on the possibility of a leak in the Garda Siochana [Irish Police]," said Ireland's police minister, Gerard Collins. "That is totally untrue." And Hermon's secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Tom King, said that the attack was an IRA attempt to undermine Anglo-Irish cooperation—a fail he promised to assist. But that security concern persists. Policemen usually travel unarmed when they cross the border, and Becham and Brett had no radio contact with security forces. Northern Irish police have said that the officers may have been carrying sensitive documents about border security and that these may now be in IRA hands.

For the IRA, the successful attack clearly raised morale following criticism, even by ardent supporters, for a recent series of indiscriminate bomb attacks on civilians. The IRA has pledged that it will increase attacks this year—but that it will "refuse" operations to single out what it considers legitimate targets, soldiers and police. Most Protestant paramilitary groups intent on responding to each act of violence. Northern Ireland's spiral of violence threatens to make the anniversary year the most murderous yet.

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NATIONAL WILDLIFE WEEK

APRIL 9-15, 1989



Working together to help threatened wildlife.

An advertising and information supplement to the April 9, 1989 issue
of *Maclean's* prepared in conjunction with Canadian Wildlife Association.
Text by Ron Reid.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE WEEK

Wildlife means a great deal to Canadians: the satisfaction of a full bag of the names, the stirring sight of a bull moose for the wilderness canoe, the thrill of pecking out a robin's nest for the urban child. But to appreciate wildlife in the forest, we must act now to conserve it. National Wildlife Week, established by an act of the Canadian Parliament in 1987, honours the memory of Jack Miner, one of Canada's pioneer conservationists. It also draws attention to the state of our natural resources and populations, and to the people and organizations working to protect wild species.

In most parts of Canada, wildlife is under siege: habitat destruction, toxic chemicals and thoughtless shooting all take their toll. The Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada now ranks 347 species of wild plants and animals as vulnerable; they document a

further 15 species that no longer exist in Canada. Even those appealing totals do not include members of the insect world and other lower forms of life that are disappearing at a similar rate.

Wildlife officials admit that efforts to arrest the extinction of endangered species are only beginning. Recovery programs so far have been largely cosmetic, oriented toward species like grizzly bears and moose with broad public appeal. But conservation can no longer be limited to the most visible species. In 1987, the federal government announced a new policy because the last habitat to be taken off the radar screen is the boreal forest. In 1986, wood-pulp corporations were sufficiently convinced, with an eleven-fold increase since 1957, to "downlist" from endangered to threatened status.

Such small beginnings are far from enough. "We have to go beyond just saving tigers and elephants," said Steve Price of World Wildlife Fund Canada. "To

protect the genetic resources that are essential for human survival, we must protect the full spectrum of natural diversity, with healthy populations surviving in a variety of habitats." Paul Gross of the Canadian Nature Federation emphasized another human connection: "The health of wildlife populations is a key indicator of the health of the environment as a whole, an environmental specimen like the bald eagle is telling us something about the state of the entire ecosystem, which is important to us."

Conserving a full range of wildlife is a challenge in which every Canadian can play a part. By supporting conservation groups, expressing your concern to political leaders, incorporating responsible environmental policies into your business, or participating directly in wildlife conservation projects, you help make possible a future for Canada's wildlife.

WHAT'S AT STAKE?

Wildlife means billions to Canadian economy

What does wildlife mean to us? That meaning is measured in our enjoyment, but the members of the Leamington, Ontario, gillie's, a diving, diving, fishing, shooting nearby Blue Peter National Park add \$30 million to the local economy in the month of May alone, according to a study by Dr. Jim Butler of the University of Alberta. Just on fish and processing, these visitors spend \$730,000 in a single month.

Environmental Canada surveyed 100,000 Canadians in 1981. And again in 1987 suggest that the Leamington experience is not unique. Ninety percent of Canadians take part in some form of wildlife-related activity, with 3.8 million people taking trips primarily to enjoy wildlife through such activities as birdwatching and photography. Two-thirds of all Canadians feed, watch, or photograph wildlife around their homes and cottages.

This high rate of participation results in impressive economic contributions. Canadians spent \$1.1 billion on wildlife-related activities in 1986, including everything from hunting, license fees to binoculars and clothing. The 1987 survey, which is still in the process of analysis, showed a further significant increase in expenditures. Every year, wildlife activities put nearly \$2 billion into our coffers across the country.

Tom Blaustein, an environmental researcher with the Canadian Wildlife Service, also noted two other trends from the 1987 data: fewer Canadians now hunt, and non-conservative activities such as wildlife watching and photography are on the increase. These findings are likely to inspire the debate about how government wildlife agencies spend their funds, which are now diverted largely to game species bought by Canada's 1.8 million hunters. Paul Gross of the Canadian Nature Federation: "There is no more telling distinction than the millions of dollars spent to produce moose and deer, while the

same agencies have to scrounge for a few dollars to work on endangered species."

In a 1987 Deloitte Research poll ranking environmental issues, 67% of respondents rated "protecting wildlife" at the top of the list. But many conservationists fear that the process of changing traditional spending habits will be a lengthy one. To prevent a rash of future extinctions, they stress the need for a broader approach to managing threatened wildlife. Said Charles Dauphine of the Canadian Wildlife Service: "We should be looking at protecting whole ecosystems, not waiting until individual species are close to the brink."



Leamington: good for business



Despite this country's vast size, the natural habitats of many important species are dwindling at an alarming rate. We're fighting: since 1963, The Nature Conservancy of Canada has been protecting ecologically important land by buying it. We've acquired almost 400 parcels of wilderness, preserving over 80,000 acres from development, forever. Our recent projects include:

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GOOD STEWARDS

Business, landowners, artists join in conservation

Wild conservation in Canada is big business, with habitat conservation expenditures estimated at \$100 million a year. Half of costs come from non-government organizations, making them the largest single player in conservation. "Canadians are prepared to pay a tremendous amount to protect their environment," said Morris Thompson, President of World Wildlife Fund Canada. "They want to spend more than government is spending, and they are willing to give millions of dollars to other organizations to make sure the job gets done."

Conservation groups not only raise funds for wildlife species and wetland projects, they also promote protection of habitats by private owners and businesses. The stewardship concept has been promoted in Ontario by the Natural Heritage League, a coordinating body for conservation agencies. In return for voluntary commitments to protect threatened natural habitats, the League has created a revolving award to 320 landowners.

Not all awards have gone to individuals. One of the largest grants given by the CMLB Group, an insurance company in rapidly growing Brampton, to a 40 hectare woodland with several species of rare southern plants. As well as agreeing to protect the habitat, CMLB President Harvey Lancer arranged a place to stay for the area's rarest plants and the local community. said Lancer. "We hope our involvement will encourage other companies and individuals to make the same kind of commitment."

Deed recognition is another tool that has also protected habitat for two endangered plants in the Tatamagouche valley of south-western Nova Scotia. Where the Bowater Menses Paper Company signed a low cost lease with the Native Conservancy of Canada. On the west coast, habitat for the endangered Vancouver Island marmot has been preserved through a land donation by MacMillan Bloedel. Financial support from Canada Life was an important factor in the successful recovery of white pelican populations on the prairie. In south-west Ontario, Unocal Gas has added programs to preserve threatened Carolinian forests.

As business becomes more aware of its environmental responsibilities, corporations are beginning to direct their conservation donations closer to home. Said World Wildlife Fund's Barry Price. "We are seeing companies such as Novartis and

servants organizations through the sale of original artwork, prints, and cards.

One example from the many artists who assist endangered wildlife is Michael Duran of Gallery on the Lake—Brockville, north of Peterborough, Ontario, who has raised close to \$3 million for conservation through the sale of his art. In one year, he estimated 60% of his work was donated to various wildlife causes. "When you walk very close to your subjects, and you learn about the problems of wildlife in their environment, how can you not help?" asked Duran. Among other projects, his donations have supported the introduction of wild turkeys to their former range. That successful program, he said, has given him particular satisfaction. "Starting from nothing, we now have a substantial population of wild birds."

Wildlife artists have also been credited with tremendously raising public awareness of wildlife. Conservationists hope that interest will translate into more protection, especially through stewardship of private lands. Enduring the cooperative landowners who protect wildlife habitat is the only way to preserve parks and reserves from becoming isolated enclaves, "sort of rural areas," argued Ken Cox of Wildlife Habitat Canada. Stewardship programs are both cost effective and popular with owners. "Landowners love it," claimed Cox, citing participation rates of 75-100% in existing programs. For the future of many species of wildlife the commitment of concerned landowners may represent the brightest hope.



Marmot. Endangered

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY CARLIER

Shell providing money to look at a species within areas where they are operating. Most importantly says Price, "we need donations and a commitment to look at the needs of the studies funded." That kind of partnership can be high business to ensure that their own operations are sustainable.

Despite the growing involvement of corporations in the industry of conservation, the majority of income for wildlife conservation comes from individuals. One of the most widely used fund raising techniques is the sale of wildlife art donated by sympathetic artists. The works of such well known Canadians as George McLeish, Glen Lovies and Robert Bateman have supported dozens of con-

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BIRDING FOR THE RECORD

Volunteers track down nesting birds

Keeping record of local birds has long been a habit for Bob Bowles, an electrical engineer in the rural community of Seven Bridge, Ontario. But his hobby took on new significance when Bowles became a volunteer for Ontario's Atlas of Breeding Birds project. After five years of field work by Bowles and 1300 other volunteers, who logged over 180,000 hours of observations, the completed Atlas provides an unprecedented overview of the 262 species nesting in the province.

Most of the volunteer birdwatchers were amateurs, but the Atlas project itself was professionally designed by the Federation of Ontario Naturalists and the Ontario Bird Observatory. Bowles and 43 other regional coordinators, along with 150 amateur scientists in individual areas, "helped to establish the best possible locations for evidence of a nest and were required to confirm breeding status. Some species proved more common than previously thought. Bald eagles are listed as an endangered



Bluebird at the upswings

species in Ontario, but the Atlas found healthy populations in the northern parts of the province. Eastern bluebirds, which suffered a severe decline earlier than many, have become widespread once more

in southern Ontario.

But atlas projects now involve more than 3300 institutions in the Maritimes, Quebec, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories, with related work underway in Saskatchewan and B.C. Yves Audet of the Canadian Wildlife Service works with a network of 900 volunteers in southern Quebec. Results from this project will be published in 1993. An atlas recording three new nesters, the Québec atlas is already showing some species in trouble. Logarithmic shrubs, predatory birds of open pasture fields, were once considered fairly common. But in 1988, atlasers found only one nesting pair.

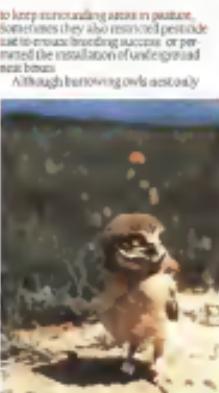
Ontario atlasers identified 96 "species of concern," about a third of the entire breeding bird list. Some of these vulnerable species are scattered at the edge of their range. Others, such as black terns and short-eared owl, are threatened by loss of their wetland habitats. Ontario volunteers are now evaluating known nest sites and popular routes to avoid off-nesting species. By contributing that data and skills to cooperative projects, birdwatchers across Canada are setting the agenda for bird conservation activities in the next decade.

SAVING THE UNDERGROUND OWL

Landowners help in comeback of burrowing owls

For western Canadians, aware of the plight of the burrowing owl, a round-end link had with spindly legs that made benefits peculiarly paradoxical. His Royal Highness Prince Philip had a crowd of media descended on the farm of Guy and Sheila McRae in June 1987. Prince Philip, who is international president of the World Bird Fund, helped hand some of the 30 burrowing owls on the Saskatchewan farm and presented a large yellow gate sign to acknowledge the co-operation of the farmers. The farmers across the west who watched the procedure believed that their role in conservation of that threatened species was to be nil.

As a result, Operation Burrowing Owl, launched less than two years ago, now has 340 Saskatchewan landowners pledged to protect their owls. The owl colonies use abandoned gooseneck and gravel burrows for nesting; communities of grasslands in cultivated fields was a major threat to their breeding sites as well as food supply. Co-operating farmers voluntarily agreed not to disturb the birds and



Burrowing owl chick from the Prince

in the western drylands, their survival will also depend a lot on the oak woods of southeast Ontario, at the Owl Rehabilitation Research Foundation. This private facility, with a name of spurious cache, is trying to avoid the hubris of Ray and Larry McRae's spectacles in captive breeding of permanently injured owls. Over the past six years, the McRaes have raised 160 chicks to joining burrowing owls, offspring of injured parents from western Canada and the U.S. Most of the offspring have been flown to Kamloops, B.C., in an effort to re-establish an owl population there.

Even after successfully breeding ten of Canada's rarer species-of-risks, finding funds is a perennial problem for the O.R.R.F. and Ray McRae. "A few corporations like Ontario Paper Company have been very generous. Individual unended donations are the backbone of our funding." On the other side, the encouragement of individual vital to the future of threatened species. Fortunately, many Saskatchewan landowners with baronies over their land are the admirers of Avocet Gulls and, says Guy and Sheila McRae, "We have 15 pairs on our four farms; we take the best care of them that we can."

BATTLES ON THE BEACHES



Piping plover: two pairs to a beach

As the longest Land Use Commission hearings in Prince Edward Island history neared its early in 1989, Deanne Griffin of the Island Nature Trust reflected wearily on their cost. "Thirty-five days of hearings, \$30,000 just for our legal fees—that's a money that otherwise could have been spent on purchase of natural areas." Instead, the Trust scraped together funds to oppose an application by an American-based company to build 3000 three-shore condominiums on one of the more significant natural stretches of P.E.I.'s north shore. At stake were 300 hectares of beach and woodland known as the Greenwich peninsula.

Running along the coastal portion of the property are fragile sand dunes of little or no significance, and the pebbly beach habitat of piping plovers, a distance two shorebirds endangered across North America since. Last year the beach hosted two nesting pairs of the birds. Said Wheedle Wake, a London, Ontario, biologist who has studied piping plovers extensively, "Decades like

pairs nest in the Maritimes, 80% of those on P.E.I. Greenwich has about a half of the world population, with highest numbers recorded in Saskatchewan. Piping pairs are vulnerable to trampling by people, livestock, or even dogs chasing at birds off the nest. Their conservation is made especially difficult by the cyclical nature of their use of habitats. As we get them established, then generally nominate, or sometimes clear beaches clean, the birds switch to other areas, perhaps returning years later. Said Wake, "You can just sit and hope over a year, put a fence around it, and say that is for piping plovers, because the habitat may soon change."

Griffin doesn't expect the Greenwich controversy to end with the Commission's recommendations. Ultimately, she wants a land swap for a piece of far less sensitive government land nearby. In the meantime, conservationists lament the lack of federal government interest in the endangered plovers. "While the Americans have an excellent recovery plan in place for piping plovers," said Wake, "Canada is really dragging its feet."

A message from Canada's Environment Minister

As the Minister responsible for federal government wildlife conservation programs, I am delighted by the large number of private organizations and government agencies that are planning to celebrate National Wildlife Week '89.

Since 1947, when our Act of Parliament established Wildlife Week, most activities have centred on school programs developed by a non-government organization, the Canadian Wildlife Federation. Over the years, these programs have helped school children understand the problems faced by

wildlife and what they can do to help.

But as the 1990s approach, a whole new range of challenges await us. We must face greater threats than ever before, principally from urbanization and acid rain and other pollutants that assault habitat. It is essential that people focus all kinds of life because an acre of scrub forest and of bear they can help to conserve wildlife and the habitat on which wildlife depends.

For more information, I urge Canadians to contact their local wildlife conservation organization. And let us all do what we can to make every week Wildlife Week.



Pronghorn Antelope grazing in Northern Yukon National Park

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258 WORLDWIDE

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Beluga, most polluted marine mammal

NATIONAL WILDLIFE WEEK

BELEAGUERED BELUGAS

St. Lawrence whales threatened by toxic wastes

For the whale whales of the St. Lawrence River, hydrocarbons are proving more deadly than harpoons. Once plentiful, this small, toothed whale was reduced in numbers to around 2000 by the pressure of commercial hunting. But when hunting ended in 1972, whale numbers continued to plummet. Today only 450 remain in a shrinking range centred around the Saguenay River, and the St. Lawrence beluga was declared endangered in 1983. Habitat destruction by hydro dams and shoreline industries played a part, but more evidence has confirmed toxic chemicals as the main culprit in the belugas' decline.

There is a good case to call St. Lawrence belugas the world's most polluted marine mammals. A recent study by the Belugas of Quebec of Montreal, Autopsies of dead whales have found 24 different contaminants, some of them at very high levels. Among the most dangerous were PCBs, DDT, mirex, and hexachloroethane, a potent member of a complex family of hydrocarbons collectively known as PCBs. The 21 dead whales washed ashore in 1985 showed a wide range of acute and chronic diseases associated with these chemicals, including chronic growths and damage to the immune system. Pollutant levels were so high that beluga carcasses had to be treated as hazardous wastes.

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the protection of another half-million hectares in eastern Alberta.

Many Canadian environmentalists believe we could do more. Dr. Paul Eagles, a University of Waterloo professor who visits Costa Rica regularly, sees a promising need to develop the tourist potential of tropical reserves to provide jobs and increase local support for their protection. He wants greater participation by the Canadian International Development Agency in projects such as training, water and building interpretive centres, to ensure a stable base for tourism development. While CIDA officials said funds are available for conservation activities, they often lack interest in tropical countries as a backdrop to cocaine activity.

Destroyed forests: another alien species?

WILDLIFE CONSERVATION GROUPS IN CANADA

A Consumer's Guide to Wildlife Organizations

ORGANIZATION	BUDGET	ANNUAL PERS.	ANNUAL BUDGET	COMMITTEE
CANADIAN WILDLIFE FEDERATION 1070 Carling Ave. Ottawa K1A 0J1	\$50,000 \$60k+ \$100k \$120k	\$20 \$25 \$25 \$25	\$7,000,000 \$7,000,000 \$1,500,000 \$1,500,000	Protects millions with single and hunting groups. Distributes license funds to wildlife organizations for projects including: Wildlife Park, Big Ark, Ark Advocacy on freshwater fisheries. Wildlife, Wetlands and habitat advocacy and regional species protection. 13-15 million funds used annually.
CANADIAN NATURE FEDERATION 451 Shrank Drive Ottawa K2B 6Z8	20,000	\$25	\$1,500,000	120 member groups utilizing up to membership of 200,000. Protects habitat. Consists of hunting, trapping, advocacy on national park access and protection, and endangered species. Biodiversity policies. Education programs.
WORLD WILDLIFE FUND CANADA 40 St. Rita Ave. East Toronto M3C 2B9	250,000 \$300k+ \$300k	Based on \$300k	\$4,000,000	Protects species and habitat. Working in 100 countries. Has taken its role as an advocate for environmental issues seriously. Related conservation activities include: wetlands, forest protection, international projects (international parks and World Heritage sites).
NATURE CONSERVANCY OF CANADA 1710 Carling Ave. Ottawa K1A 0J7	3500	\$25	\$1,500,000	Field of operations across E. C. Alberta, Quebec, Nunavut, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and PEI. Acquires land for parks. 10,000 locations. 3.6 million acres. Protects habitat, species, and ecosystems. Establishing a conservation data system to aid in habitat and species protection.
WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT CANADA 1704 Carling Ave. Ottawa K2A 0C7	800k	\$60k	\$4,000,000	Protects a national park. Not to be confused with the 30 national parks controlled by 150 people. It takes a hands off approach to habitat names and general regions. On Search of Wildlife. Parks in Canada, Alberta, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Protects habitat and managing programs worldwide. Works to ensure biodiversity practices.
GREENPEACE 100 Elgin St. - Suite 1000 Ottawa K1A 0J3	60,000	\$30	\$1,700,000	Office in Ottawa. National. Occupies buildings. Stop Magazine. Advocacy on environmental issues. Involves global campaign, divestment, public environmental movements.
DAKOTA UNLIMITED 1100 Westgate St. Winnipeg MB R3B 2Z2	100,000 \$100k \$100k \$100k	\$20 \$20 \$20 \$20	\$44,000,000	34 local, rural, local, urban, committees. 70% of budget from American oilfields. Publishers Conservation Developments. 600,000 hours of volunteer time. field protection, competitive agreements with oil and gas companies. Current campaigns are oil sands extraction. Saskatchewan oil sands. Alberta oil sands. E.C. tar sands.
CANADIAN PARKS AND WILDLIFE STARS ASSOCIATION 60 Elgin St. - Suite 1000 Ottawa K1A 0J3	2500	\$25	\$325,000	50 regional chapters in E. C. Prairie. Operates. Protects forests, habitat, rivers, and waterways. Also, has a lot to do with wilderness areas. Legislation and policy, protecting park wildlife.

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PEOPLE

REWRITING FAMILY HISTORY

One of the world's most famous feminists says that she desperately hated her father. "I needed him to be a hero," writes Germaine Greer in the recently released *Destry, We Almost Knew Him*. Instead, Greer claimed her father's place for affection. After exploring her father's past in India, Malte in Australia, Greer, 50, discovered that he was strangely distant from India, the thought she knew, and that he had suffered from severe depression after serving in the Second World War. Said Greer: "I couldn't bear it. I lost him."

One great ego



Quantitative Economics 2016, Vol. 8(3)

INNER STRENGTH

Actress Shirley MacLaine has a new reason breathe for success. In fact, her recently released video, *Shirley MacLaine's Inner Workout*, features deceptively simple exercises that she maintains can help people "access un-tapped energy." At least, she claims that it works for her. MacLaine, 54, who will soon release her 10th book, *Getting Off the Chair*, was in Seattle last week playing a refined circus performer in her 43rd movie, *MacLaine for the Eight*. Later this year, she says that she plans another movie and another book. For MacLaine, it seems, success is already insured.

THE ECSTASY AND AGONY OF STARS

While *Dead Ringers* earned the most awards at last week's *Genie* ceremonies—including best picture—David Cronenberg, 44, the psychological drama's director, said that he is “outraged” that the American academy failed to give him a single nomination for his Oscar efforts on March 29. Added the Toronto-born Cronenberg: “*Dead Ringers* is not *American* enough.” For her part, **Jackie Burroughs**, who won the best actress *Genie* for her role in *A Winter’s Tale*, said that she had few hopes that her movie would win any awards. Burroughs, 47, added that the low-budget this was a work of love by a low-profile directorial team, including herself. Said Burroughs: “We never aspired to it to use the light of day.” And while **Jeremy Irons** was not best actor for his performance as tormented obstetric two-doctor in *Dead Ringers*, the movie's producer, **Mark Bayman**, said that few American actors exceed the 47-year-old British actor. “They said that they just couldn't picture him as a gynecologist,” he added. From acknowledged to be, too, had initial doubts, but he said that he liked the idea of playing *Twins*. Add-*ed* Irons: “Playing a double role is perfect, as I’m one of those actors who always thought they have to play someone else’s part.” Among the most disappointed actors was **René Gaudet** (see *Montreal*), who arrived too late to accept his *Genie* as the best supporting actor for his role in *The Blood Diamond*. Said Gaudet: “I just can’t believe that for my first-ever win, I missed the chance to be on the show.”



Baumgärtel's work of love that saw 'the light of day'

THE GREAT GAS SELLOFF

ARCTIC RESIDENTS' DREAMS OF ENERGY RICHES HAVE BEEN REVIVED BY NEW NATURAL GAS EXPORT PROPOSALS

Walter Wilkerson says that he has not felt so optimistic since 1976. At that time, the geologist, field oil and natural gas in the Canadian Arctic, and the Arctic and Willow's thriving Inuvik, N.W.T.-based roofing company, employed 50 people who worked on construction projects across the North. But a year later, the boom ended when former B.C. chief justice Thomas Berger successfully argued Ottawa to place a moratorium on building a natural-gas pipeline from Alaska to the Mackenzie River Delta. When the oil companies pulled out, Wilkerson had to lay off all but five employees, and he turned to fixing screen doors and windows to make ends meet. But now, there are fresh plans about to export about a third of Canada's known natural-gas reserves to the United States, including massive amounts from the Canadian Arctic. And Wilkerson, 58, who paid \$1 million in 1984 to buy and renovate a bankrupt Inuvik hotel, says that he believes prosperity could again be just around the corner. Said Wilkerson: "I'm thinking of adding a third story on the hotel."

Even some of the most pessimistic northerners are again believing bullish about their economic future following an application in February by Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. to operate with earlier applications by Shell Canada Ltd. and East Resources Canada Ltd. to export massive—and some critics say dangerously high—amounts of natural gas to the United States. And two weeks ago, Calgary-

based Fairbairn Pipe Lines (Falkland) Ltd. unveiled a proposal to build a \$4.4-billion natural-gas pipeline from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to central Alberta, which would bring thousands of jobs to the western Arctic. As well, Maclean's has learned that another pipeline company, Edmonton-based Interprovincial Pipe Line Co., which is 45 per cent owned by a firm controlled by Toronto's infamous Rosenthal family—who also control Gulf Canada Resources Ltd.—is considering plans for its own northern pipeline proposal.

But some native groups, political conservatives—particularly opponents of free trade—and environmentalists still have strong reservations about development of Canada's north-energy resources. At the same time, many industry insiders say that the National Energy Board is moving into the export process, which is scheduled to begin on April 1 from Ottawa, with the first real test of the federal government's

much-those-year-old resolve to totally deregulate the oil-and-gas industry. Even so, the companies that own the Mackenzie Delta catalog will have an easier time now than ever—the 1977 Arctic pipeline ban has ended, Interprovincial Pipe Lines' 1,000-kilometre pipeline from Norway to the mouth of the Mackenzie, to Resolute in Alberta has been completed. The current export application already has the support of some native people of the upper Mackenzie, but others oppose the plan. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney agreed an agreement with Dempster Native Nation president William Lazarus last September promising to settle the native land claims to most of the western Arctic by 1990. Lazarus and his people are opposed to the pipeline because they want their claim to be settled first.

But firmly behind the plan is the government of the Northwest Territories, which signed an agreement with Ottawa last fall that could give it increased control over oil-and-gas development. Even more important, the oil companies have a sympathetic government in Ottawa that has agreed, while Prime Minister Liberal

Under the PPA, Canada can contract exports to the United States only by the propane proportion that it releases into production. The result, critics say, is that Canada could be pricing its natural gas at a premium where it cannot find buyers in the United States, because to do so would require a drastic reduction in its own domestic supplies.

A lot of the savings in these exports will come with the decision on the Arctic export applications. Biso, Shell and Gulf are said to be under pressure to show that they can generate revenue from the Mackenzie Delta. But harnessing northern natural gas is even more important to the people who live in the area and who have already matched their dreams of energy-rich corporate success before Al Thomas Berger, Inuvik's planning commissioner, got it. "We're already planning for the population to double by the time the natural gas starts to flow,"

next winter over northern energy development heats up, Dofor and other pro-pipeline northerners are already marshalling their forces.

JOHN DOWDENT with JOHN MORMAN on Calgary and JOHN DAVIS in Ottawa



Pipeline construction: a market-based energy policy



Meeting: Mulroney assuaged native land claims



Paul Reichman: new plan

close-to-one trillion cubic feet of natural gas annually.

Not all of the federal applications are likely to win approval. Even so, critics say that such large exports could hamper the ability of Canadians to meet their own energy requirements in the decades to come. Said Michael Borden, chairman of the Council of Canadians, a conservative lobby group that is strongly opposed to free trade: "It's a bad tag day on Canadian natural gas." And Ian Doug, editor of the Calgary-based *Doug's Digest*, a highly regarded energy newsletter, points out that replacing 25 billion cubic feet of natural gas means that Canada would have to move quickly to increase its natural-gas reserves or face a declining supply. "With rigs working, this should not be a natural disaster," Doug said. But he added, "If they remain idle, it is a concern."

And at the same time, Doug and others have expressed concern that the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement may threaten Canada's government-owned gas-supply agencies. Under the PPA, Canada can contract exports to the United States only by the propane proportion that it releases into production. The result, critics say, is that Canada could be pricing its natural gas at a premium where it cannot find buyers in the United States, because to do so would require a drastic reduction in its own domestic supplies.

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A LID ON BISOS

The British government, citing competition concerns, blocked Biso's £100-million (\$155-million) takeover bid for the British former Scottish & Newcastle PLC. In January, Biso, the Australia-based parent of Tasmanian-based Carlton & United Breweries of Canada Ltd., merged with The Molson Co. Ltd. of Montreal in a \$1.6-billion deal.

CHUM STATION OPPOSED

CHUM Ltd., the Toronto-based broadcaster, wants to drop the Canadian affiliation of its CTV-TV stations in Bemidji, Minn., and convert it to an independent station. But the proposal is meeting stiff opposition from a number of firms, including automotive-parts giant Magna International Inc., which has asked federal regulators to allow open bidding for the independent license.

EASTERN TRUMPHED

State-based Eastern Air Lines Inc. of Miami announced that its lucrative short-haul service between New York City and Washington was for sale again, following billion-dollar real-estate developer Donald Trump's decision not to buy the shuttle operation for \$400 million because he said that no value had been created by Eastern's mid-airline style.

Business Notes

INTEREST RATES SOAR

Canadians are paying more to borrow money after the major chartered banks pushed up their prime lending rates on March 22 to their highest level in 46 years. Canada's Big Five banks raised their prime rates by three-quarters of a point to 12.5 per cent from 12.25 per cent just after the Bank of Canada increased its rate to 12.6 per cent from 12.15 per cent. The prime rate is what banks charge their most credit-worthy corporate customers, and it sets the rate for charges charged for mortgage, consumer and other business loans. In Ottawa, one finance critic, Louis Nyoniak, said that John Crosbie, the governor of the Bank of Canada, should be called before the House of Commons finance committee to defend his high-interest-rate monetary policy, which, Nyoniak said, "encourages us to send Canada into a recession."

HEAVY AIRCRAFT CRISIS

American Airlines Inc. announced one of the largest aircraft cancellations in history, a double-bounced, \$5-billion deal for up to 150 Douglas Fokker 100 short-haul planes and 35 Boeing 737s. The purchases will modernize American's fleet through the 1990s.

Running hard

Nelson Skalbania is forging ahead again

The deeply etched lines on Nelson Skalbania's rugged, calloused features belie a man who has made and lost millions. But the 53-year-old Skalbania, who jogs an average of 50 km a week and regularly sports blue jeans and running shoes on the job, still projects a robust, energetic presence. Freed from the crushing financial crutches that he suffered in 1988, he is now the rags again, casting in as Vancouver's red-hot real estate market. Since the beginning of the year, he has earned millions on prime Vancouver real estate and he says that he plans to close deals totalling at least \$200 million in July. Relatively unscathed last year in his modest offices above a restaurant on Vancouver's Burrard Street, Skalbania played down the shades of灰色 that he predicted after \$400 million in the cost of reorganization. "Why was I so short-sighted?" he says. "I'm in upbeat mode. All day are calls. Some days we're doing 10 deals. I have free delivery in 1987 and 1988."

The attorney in vintage Skalbania frequently offhanded about his own million-dollar deals, the man who owned Wayne Gretzky for \$1.75 million when the hockey superstar was

only 17 is back in the spotlight after riding a financial roller coaster of debt and shaky deals since the early 1980s. Late last year, he and a group of partners, including the reclusive Samuel Balsberg of First City Financial Corp. Ltd., bought a portfolio of prime Vancouver-area properties for \$255 million. To acquire the seven apartment buildings and one office building, Skalbania had to subsume a string of competing bids from Asian and other Canadian investors. Within a few weeks, he had broken up the package and resold the properties to eight separate buyers. His profit is rumored to be in the millions, but he declines to comment. His wife, Diane, 29, who works as his executive assistant, would only acknowledge that it was "huge."

The deal was all the more remarkable be-

cause Skalbania spent five years trying to repay about \$10 million to 30 creditors left high and dry by his financial crash. The plan was an alternative to formal bankruptcy and was approved by his creditors. Still, most received nothing and now Skalbania has no further legal obligation to repay the debt. Skalbania discussed the unpaid amount as "restructuring of debt," just like Donie Petroneau, Brazil or the Canadian government, for God's sake. Why is anyone interested in my Mickey Mouse business?" Gordon Balsberg, the Vancouver financial consultant who engineered the plan, and the most creditors are pleased to see that Skalbania is back in business.

Skalbania says he had that his Greek-born wife, Elena, is one of his biggest assets. A successful businesswoman who bought, renovated and now runs the fashionable Wedgewood Hotel in downtown Vancouver, Elena Skalbania, 43, appears to be a strong influence on her husband's financial decisions. But she is also involved in the direction of his real financial fortunes. The British Columbia Supreme Court has ordered her to pay \$1.8 million to her husband's creditors, a result of selling the Georgia Hotel, which they

soon repossessed. The decision has been appealed. Meanwhile, Skalbania brokers night rounds of a elk. Said Skalbania: "We both live in the same home and sleep in the same bed."

Despite the success of Skalbania's business career, colleagues and creditors alike say that he is a unique local success story in a city increasingly anxious about the activities of Asian investors. Skalbania was born in Wilton, Saska, of Polish parents, and raised in East Vancouver. Skalbania himself applauds the participation of Asian investors, who are expected to pour more than \$800 million into Vancouver real estate this year. They are willing to make long-term financial commitments without requiring high, short-term returns. Said Skalbania: "Some of these guys make me look like a piker."

Skalbania says that he is determined to take advantage of rapidly escalating land values in Vancouver. Last week, workers were putting up the drywall for the new offices of Prime Realty Ltd., a real estate brokerage that Skalbania says he will operate out of his current Burrard Street location. And last month, he bid for two large properties: the landmark 23-story headquarters of B.C. Hydro in downtown Vancouver and 1,400 acres of provincial Crown land at Coghlan that has been used for the construction of 4,000 houses. Both bids remain outstanding.

Still, the high-flier who entertains himself by playing tennis with the Balsberg family and grilling guests of marketplace, mounted an uncharacteristic note of caution. "Vancouver

may be peaking right now—the warning signs are there," Skalbania added that he will stop dealing in Vancouver real estate if the price rates rises by another 10 per cent to 15. The alternative, he said, are real estate in American markets including Orlando, Fla., Atlanta and southern California.

Skalbania also said that he might purchase another sports franchise. Before his fall in 1982, he legally owned public attention with the acquisition of such sports teams as the Montreal Alouettes of the Canadian Football League. He says that his high profile is a result of buying and selling sports franchises. Declared Skalbania: "Really, who would care if I was buying and selling real estate if it wasn't for the sports?"

But for now, he is concentrating on rebuilding his real estate empire. While Skalbania passed her a cup of coffee in his sparsely furnished office, Skalbania, a former structural engineer who also has a master's degree in seismic engineering, speculated on the attractions of owning in property. "Real estate is no simple," he said. "The three keys to success are no money, no friends and no enemies. It's all common sense and basic."

For Nelson Skalbania, the expensive new is the basic measure while planners are checking and investors are buying—and to get out early if Vancouver's current boom shows signs of becoming a bust.



Wife Elena: a steady influence

PATRICIA CIRSHOLM with FRANK O'BRIEN in Vancouver

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Drug arrests: Toronto cocaine user (right) has already transformed parts of some U.S. cities into war zones

COVER

A DEADLY PLAGUE OF DRUGS

CANADIAN DRUG USERS HAVE ACCESS TO MORE NARCOTICS THAN EVER—INCLUDING THE HIGHLY ADDICTIVE CRACK

It was unusual, but luck favored the police. It happened in Toronto, in a neighborhood of the city's west end where drug addicts make their future purchases in any one of a dozen restaurants and bars. From some major intersections, buyers have only to walk a few feet in any direction to find American, Jamaican, Indian or Caribbean cuisine. It was cocaine, in the totally intensely pleasurable—and almost immediately addictive—form called crack, which, according to informants, was the specialty of certain West Indian carry houses. The deal-taking place of the establishment's handful of tables had drawn a surprise by undercover police to penetrate them. But on Monday, March 29, two ordinary beat policemen stepped into the restaurant and found a man cutting a chalky chunk of dull-white crack into Agarwood pipes—known to addicts as "40 rocks" by their \$40 price. "There is a Santa Claus," said stout Metropolitan Toronto drug squad Sgt. Phil Guillemin after police had charges against a 34-year-old man. On more somber note, Guillemin added, "Today, we won." Never has the agency of the little squat drug been more apparent in major Canadian cities.

Craving. Cheap and devastating, crack cocaine has already transformed parts of some American cities into war zones, leaving President George Bush in speculate last week that military intervention may become necessary to end the drug-induced violence (page 50). In Canada, a \$20-million national drug strategy is now almost two years old. But so far it has prodded little beyond a numbering of billboards, an educational video aimed at schoolchildren, which is not yet complete, and some minor legal reforms. Meanwhile, Canada's streets are swash with more drugs than ever before. Indeed, cocaine is no perennial that in most parts of the country is price has plummeted in recent months. Nor is there any shortage of other drugs to meet the cravings of an estimated two million Canadian users seeking escape, however temporary, from the dreary reality of poverty or the high-tensioned pressures of life in the urban fast lane.

Cocaine, a dangerous derivative, has found its biggest market in Toronto, but its use is spreading across the nation. Hence, too, is



readily available—the result, according to police, of new pipelines bringing the drug from India and Turkey into Montreal and from the Golden Triangle of Burma, Thailand and Laos into Vancouver (page 48). Jamaica is one of Canada's biggest suppliers of marijuana—and the most widely used of illegal drugs according to most estimates—and cannabis oil, Indeed, Canada Customs seized 90 lb of oil—worth \$1.03 million—when it was—albeit an Air Canada jet that arrived in Toronto from that island country on March 15. In the western provinces, the favored drug of street addicts is a combination of the prescription mood-alterers Xanax and Ritalin.

War. For authorities, the battle to contain the social and criminal costs of drugs is constant. In recent weeks, police raids have closed down what addicts call "shooting galleries"—apartments where drugs are sold and injected—in Winnipeg and Montreal, and swept dozens of crack traffickers off the sidewalks and out of housing project courtyards in Toronto. But police in most centers say that new drug addicts appear as quickly as old ones are closed.

And although the number of users may no longer be growing—indeed, some recent surveys suggest a declining number of new users—more vicious forms of many drugs pose vastly greater risks for those who do use them. That is particularly true of crack. The drug's fast-acting effect of intense euphoria is followed within about 35 minutes by a crushing depression—a combination that quickly causes a strong craving.

In the United States, where cocaine-crack has introduced new levels of violence and destruction to many inner-city neighborhoods, popular remedies range from demands for the death penalty to drug dealers to calls for the re-enactment of most laws against drugs. New York City Mayor Edward Koch is among those advancing legislation for these包括了 selling drugs. Meanwhile, Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, in a speech to a U.S. congressional committee last September, observed that "commercialization of marijuana, cocaine and especially heroin solved the problem." Schmoke called instead for marijuana to be made legal and for other drugs to be made available from doctors. In his view, such a move would free addicts from the exploitation of criminals and put an end to the huge profits earned by drug smugglers.

Indeed, there is a precedent for easing some controls on drugs. In the Netherlands, possession of small quantities of marijuana and hashish, while still illegal, has been permitted by government practice for two decades. (The Netherlands continues to enforce strict laws against other drugs.) Despite that liberal road, a poll conducted in January showed that the number of Dutch teenagers who had sampled drugs has risen to 40 per cent from 14 per cent five years ago.

Mixing. But critics of the idea say that easing the prohibition on marijuana will not deter those addicted to heroin and cocaine. Moreover, any move to make hard drugs legally available would run counter to campaigns designed to discourage their use. Said José Luis Mandujano, president of Ontario's Addiction Research Foundation: "If the government were to end a monopoly that we have lost the supply-addiction war, there is every likelihood that there will be people completely detained by the law who would use their substances."

Cannabis users say that without stronger measures, the violence and misery that accompany the drug trade will become familiar plagues as many Canadian cities as well. "We can beat this," declared Toronto Metropolitan Police Staff Sgt. James Clark. "It's right now, we're losing, and it's tearing the bell out of me."

On Canada's generally quiet city streets, these statements may seem alarmist. But the fact is deceptive: in alleys and apartments, polished nightclubs and seedy bars, the drug business is boozing, feeding a cycle of escalating crime and personal tragedy. In Halifax, where crack appears to have spread as through floodwaters outside Toronto, youthful dealers operate almost openly. In the South End of St. John's, a neighborhood of tenacity police residing in the city for nearly 10 years, the police force has been reduced from 100 officers in 1967, when robbery and burglaries had been negligible. As well, in Montreal, the number of homicide victims has tripled during the past nine years to at least 15,000. Police officers say that much of that increase can be traced to the availability of comparatively cheap brown heroin from Asia, introduced into the city by clandestine smugglers.

Much the same dismal picture emerges in the rest of the country. In

A GLOBAL STRUGGLE

DRUG POLICE ARE FIGHTING THE ODDS



Colombian cocaine processing: cocaine bases (below) account for only about five per cent of the flow into Canada

Robert Ether, manager of the marina airport near Serrí, Que., 70 km northeast of Montreal, said that he did not notice anything unusual about the two men who landed their twin-engine Turbo-Commander aircraft for fuel late on the evening of March 12. He was about to go to bed for a cup of coffee when another twin-engine plane landed, and three U.S. Customs officers armed with rifles jumped out. The U.S. officials forced Ether and the other two men to lie face-down on the 20-matress while they searched the surrounding area and the Commander, which they said they suspected of carrying cocaine from South America. As it turned out, no drugs were found aboard the aircraft, but the incident provided a dramatic glimpse into the unrelenting struggle between international police forces and drug smugglers who bring billions of dollars' worth of illegal narcotics into Canada each year. In the case of the Commander, the American officers and that plane had probably been carrying drugs, which an occupant may have

prisoned while flying over Nova Scotia. The flow of illicit drugs into Canada is growing steadily. Indeed, some experts say that the quantities may be doubling every year. Canada, the arm of the Canadian government that was responsible for 80 per cent of all illegal drug seizures in Canada last year, reported that officers intercepted and confiscated 3,647 kg. worth of cocaine (crystalline, liquid and cocaine base), 20 kg. worth of heroin at Canadian borders in 1985. That represented a 20-per-cent increase over the 3,332 kg. seized in 1984, while the amount of drugs that customs officers seized in 1987, compared with \$304 million worth in 1985. Although the figures may have reflected Canada Customs' expanded role in drug smuggling—and the acquisition of sophisticated new X-ray equipment—they also reflect a greater use of drugs. "The drug industry is

Canada at all its thriving," said William McKinnon, chief of Canada Customs' enforcement policy and liaison section. "And there appears to be every indication that it is growing." At the same time, the relentlessness of international narcotics dealers is accounting increasingly tough drug enforcement tactics. During the March 12 incident in Serrí, when Ether's 20-year-old son, Carl, appeared on the scene, one of the U.S. Customs officers abduced him with his wife before Ether could explain that he was married. "You don't know if they're going to shoot you or what," he told *Maclean's*.

Later, other officers who were called to the scene arrested the two suspected drug smugglers and charged them with illegal entry into Canada and flying a stolen aircraft. Last week,



Below: COCAINE

the two men—who were Spanish-speaking residents of Florida and Colombia—were deported to their own countries. Meanwhile, the incident raised questions about the legality of U.S. Customs officers broadcasting weapons on Canadian soil. Ether, a spokesman for Ottawa's external affairs department, said, "From the information we have, there may be a fairly serious offence involving a violation of Canadian sovereignty."

At the same time, the RCMP posts its own officers overseas in an attempt to intercept drugs at their source. Under agreements that the external affairs department has negotiated with foreign governments, the Mounties currently have 38 liaison officers stationed in 18 foreign cities. One is Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, where most of the raw plants grown in the neighboring South American nations of Bolivia, Brazil and Peru are processed into cocaine. RCMP officers are also posted to Bangkok as an effort to halt the traffic in heroin out of the so-called Golden Triangle region of northern Thailand, Burma and Laos, where opium poppies—from which morphine and heroin are derived—are grown. With the help of police intelligence reports from Canada, Mounties posted overseas are often able to help foreign police arrest criminals who are planning to move narcotics to Canada.

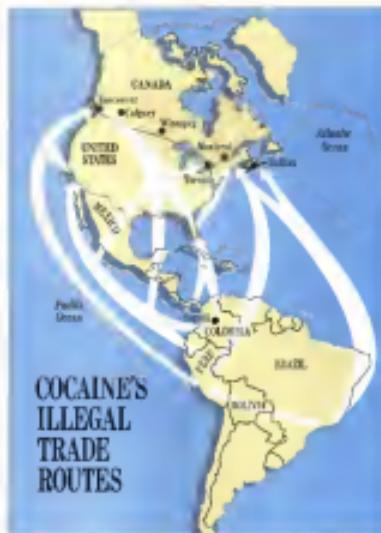
Right: The Mounties' foreign assignments can be hazardous. Last month, Capt. David R. Stander, 36, of Rainy River, B.C., became the RCMP's first overseas fatality when he was killed in Thailand during a drug operation. Phongsap and four other Mounties were in an opium-growing region near Chiang Mai 600 km north of Bangkok, investigating reports that a large shipment of heroin was headed for Canada. Phongsap, a burly, physical-fitness enthusiast, was posing as a buyer, partly to obtain information from a Canadian who was suspected of being involved in drug smuggling. During a fight between Phongsap and a Thai suspect on the back of a pickup truck, Phongsap fell and severed his spinal cord, died later in hospital.

Despite Phongsap's death, the investigation proved to be effective. This police seized heroin that would have been worth up to \$15 million in Canada. They also charged Alan Oliver, 30, of Brampton, Que., and five Thai citizens with heroin smuggling—an offence punishable by death in Thailand. As a result of the investigation, six Quebec residents were later arrested in Montreal and charged with trafficking.

At the same time, the wealth and influence that drug kingpins exert in some countries can thwart even the most determined law enforcement agencies. In Southeast Asia, for instance, the Golden Triangle maintains a police force of up to 15,000 men. In Thailand, police officers have been known to bribe their superiors for transfers to opium-growing regions where they themselves can earn lucrative payoffs from heroin traffickers. Even more powerful Colombian drug cartels, including the dealers based in the city of Medellín, control cocaine exports from the surrounding region. Last week a federal grand jury in Jacksonville, Fla., issued indictments against 38 defendants.

The largest number of drug seizures is still made from cocaine entering Canada by motor vehicle or at airports. Only last week, customs officers at Toronto's Lester B. Pearson International Airport seized 91 kg. of cocaine and \$158,000 in equipment stashed behind garbage bins in the warehouse of an Air-Canada Lockheed L-1011 jet that had arrived from Montego Bay, Jamaica. As well, larger amounts are now coming in by ship. Last November, Canadian customs officers in Vancouver seized 28 kg. of heroin in a crate of oranges aboard a ship from Thailand.

Despite the increasingly successful efforts of drug enforcement, federal officials continue to insist that the representation of the true flow of illicit narcotics reaching the Canadian market from around the world. Otto Jolani, the federal minister in charge of Customs, says that although the five-per-cent figure is an improvement over five years ago, customs officials still need more training, better equipment and a greater degree of co-operation from authorities in non-drug-producing countries in Colombia and Thailand. "There has to be greater effort and more effort," said Jolani. "We have had limited success. Now we must build on it." For his part, the RCMP's Stander compared the international drug trade to a balloon. "When you squeeze one part," he said, "a terrible pain goes up somewhere else." But the narcotics trade, showing no sign of slowing, Canadian officials are likely to find themselves in a prolonged and deadly battle to maximize the bubbles.



COCAINE'S ILLEGAL TRADE ROUTES

including Pahn Khamin Gavara and three other reputed members of the Medellín cartel, on charges of smuggling more than \$1 billion worth of cocaine into the United States. None of the indicted cartel members is currently in U.S. custody.

Left: Despite the regular destruction of jungle-based cocaine laboratories by local authorities and by the American Drug Enforcement Administration, the cartels continue to thrive. Sud Sirivay Stander, an assistant trade commissioner who headed the Mounties' drug enforcement program between 1980 and 1985, said that each year, cartels each have related groups that act as stevedores, loaders and buyers. In addition, most have legal import-export agencies, which import legal pharmaceuticals, cosmetics and medical equipment.

AN UGLY EPIDEMIC

WASHINGTON IS AT WAR WITH CRACK

Under cover of darkness, a team of 25 plainclothes police officers had gathered near Mount Vernon on the mean streets of northeast Washington, D.C. A lone undercover officer bought a packet of so-called crack cocaine from two young men and a woman, while another kept watch from a distance. At the deal was completed, the second officer reduced the team to two as an officer walked to the house, a young man stepped from the shadows and started to run. In all, two of those another packet of crack. They were shot, however, along with the first three dealers. It was a successful operation, but police officers say that these sets of arrests have little effect on the drug trade. Largely as a result of narcotics use, Washington by last week already had 129 killings in 1989—conquered by 73 by the same time last year—making the city, on a per-capita basis, the murder capital of North America. According to David Stow, one of the Washington police department's most experienced narcotics officers, the city's drug dealers "know they are going to get busted, and these is a few chance they may be killed. But the financial incentives are so strong that they don't seem to care." As a result, parts of the U.S. capital have come to resemble combat zones.



Drug-related murder scene: Fear that the city's social and political fabric is being eroded

Violence. In some of Washington's low-income, predominantly black neighborhoods, drug dealers and teenage buyers buy and sell crack—the relatively cheap, highly addictive form of cocaine that many experts say is responsible for the wave of violence gripping the city. On average, there is a murder in Washington every 16 hours, and officials estimate that 50 percent of the city's shootings and murders are drug-related. Now, the rapidly deteriorating situation has led to calls for increasingly strong preventive measures. White House officials have said that President George Bush is considering seeking the

For his part, William J. Bennett, the Bush administration's director of national drug policy, announced two weeks ago that he is planning a "shock-treatment" attack on the city's drug dealers this spring. Officials in Bennett's office said that he may convert abandoned military facilities into temporary prisons for large numbers of drug offenders. Meanwhile, the Senate has scheduled hearings into the drug crisis starting on April 4 and may recommend that the federal government take over the day-to-day running of the city. That would involve revoking the hard-won "home rule" provisions awarded in 1973 to the elected city government now headed by Mayor Marion Barry Jr. Bennett said that parliamentarians know that Barry is a cocaine user himself but have acquiesced to as they fight a losing battle against the capital's ugly drug epidemic.

WILLIAM LOWMEIER is in Washington

confirmed on March 19 that Barry's alleged links to drug dealers are under investigation.

As another U.S. census the spread of crack in Washington has triggered a wave of killings. With 272 murders last year, Washington had 59 homicides for every 100,000 residents, compared with Detroit, which had 69 residents in 1988, or 51 homicides for every 100,000 residents. New York City, with more than 1,850 murders last year, had a homicide rate of about 25 for every 100,000 residents. According to Stephen Klinehan, director of the statistical analysis centre at Washington's office of criminal justice, violence in the district's drug underworld is often instigated when a user is unable to pay money owed to a drug dealer. The dealer, said Klinehan, "has to set an example that he will either be paid or be violent."

Bloodbath. Meanwhile, the death toll among the district's drug users is skyrocketing. Drake Place in northeast Washington is a sloping street with two-story brick apartment buildings

signs on sale and a row of shabby bungalows on the other. Drake Place is a 24-hour-a-day crack market, and the site of dozens of recent shootings. Said Esther Reynolds, an 18-year-old woman who lives on the street: "It's like someone picked up the whole neighborhood and then dropped it down in the jungle."

On Feb. 14, when 12 people were killed or wounded by gunfire in the district, five of the shootings occurred near Drake Place. When police officers followed a trail of blood to an apartment building on 14th Street, they found a dead 18-year-old girl along with a machine-gun, a shotgun and a large quantity of crack. It was the kind of discovery that Washington's police have become accustomed to as they fight a losing battle against the capital's ugly drug epidemic.

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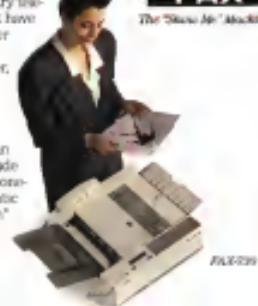
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COVER

A JOURNEY INTO HELL

THE HORRORS OF A DOPE DEN

Pruess, a barkeep, 23-year-old blonde prostitute, shivering from the cold in the courtyard of a three-story rooming house in Toronto's west end. The white-painted brick house was once an elegant Victorian apartment building but now many of its windows are boarded up, and most of the tenants have moved out. To the prostitutes, pimps, drug pushers and addicts who inhabit the seedy neighbourhood, the half-painted shanty known as the "White Elephant"—a drug den where prostitutes come "crack"—is highly addictive cocaine diversion—or inject cocaine. It is 1 a.m. on a recent Tuesday morning, and in spite of the fact that Pruess is a non-smoking prostitute, she is in a frequent customer of the White Elephant between sexual encounters with clients in parked cars or hotel rooms. She whistles, and a man with a deeply scarred face lets her in.

The White Elephant—one of about 300 crack houses, or drug dens, that police estimate have sprung up in 200 cities during the past year—is a place of both underworld and street Yuppies, even sex. Often set up in public housing projects or in dilapidated buildings or converted houses, crack houses are open for business 24 hours a day. Usually, they move to a new location every two or three weeks to avoid detection by police. Most crack houses operate their doors only to underworld regulars and they maintain tight security with guns and other weapons. The drug dens are a lucrative business. Police officers say that one crack house operator who spends his drug profits in real estate has purchased 12 properties in the past 18 months.

Arrested. According to Pruess, the White Elephant is the regular den for an 18-year-old prostitute who works in the area. She acknowledged that she has been "banging," or injecting, cocaine since she was 13—and that most of the \$4,000-\$5,000 she earns in a night goes to support her drug habit. "Every girl who works the street goes into the Elephant shop—like every hour," she said. Most of those she said, "are banging" cocaine, either while injecting the drug, the practice of nasal cocaine users. Pruess is addicted to cocaine and she says her doctor has told her that when she hits a bone, he'll be a cocaine addict as well.

On that particular night, the non-smoker at the Elephant leads Pruess up an unlighted staircase and into a second-floor location he shares with another tenant. The bathroom consists of three overflowing milk crates, and the floor is strewn with garbage. Thus, who rents a room in the building for \$120 per month, does not use drugs himself. But he allows guests to

sell narcotics on his premises in exchange for free "lata," or injections, of cocaine. The dealer—an unshaven, long-haired man in a dark coat—is already in the apartment. Pruess buys half a gram of cocaine for \$60. She then mixes some of the white powder with water in a spoon. After dissolving the cocaine, Pruess

ing soda and water in a spoon and using a cigarette lighter to heat the mixture. As the sticky liquid hardens, Pruess pinches particles of crack on the end of a small steel nail. After collecting enough of the tiny "rocks" of crack, she prepares to smoke them. Because of a federal law enacted in September, 1988 that outlaws the sale of drug paraphernalia, the small pipes used for smoking cocaine and other drugs are now difficult to obtain. As a result, Pruess uses the nail to poke holes in a dried soft-drink can. Then she places the "rocks" of crack inside a bag of cigarette ash spread over the perforations to act as a screen. As she ignites the crack and draws the smoke through the small hole at the mouth of the can, the tiny rays make and the tiny steel nail and the steel nail is filled with the bitter taste of crack.

Badass. She is, Toronto police have been uniformly accurate in their eight-months, police have cracked 16 of them in one section of the city's west end alone. Still, many of the dens have remained in business while the charges, resulting from the crack drug through the courts. Drug squad officers say that they leave the location of most of the drug dens, including the White Elephant. But they often are unable to raid known crack houses because they lack the evidence that judges require before they will issue search warrants.

While they wait for warrants, police officers sometimes keep crack houses under observation in order to gain more information about the underworld figures who frequent them. When Pruess visited the White Elephant last month, she admitted that she felt nervous because she expected that the police would soon be raiding. "It hasn't been taken down yet," she said. "But it's gonna go down." With that, she lit her cigarette, tucked three new syringes into her brazerule and headed out into the night to form another crack—and earn the money for another hit.

After a few minutes, Pruess takes her attention to "cooking" more crack—a process that involves placing a mixture of cocaine, bak-



Smoking crack: a "hit" between sexual encounters

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Atlanta Braves Geronimo Berrios (left) and Expos manager Steve Rodgers during one unscripted issue

SPORTS

Northern challenge

The Jays and the Expos want to go all the way

The man with the big shoulders and the wicked smile on his face was George Bell, the black cloud hovering over the Toronto Blue Jays. Last week, Bell was letting reporters in interviews under a close May sky at the Jays' spring training camp in Dunedin, Fla. "Hey, hep, o' devo (good-looking!)," shouted the gaunt left fielder, smiling benevolently as one of his charges made a buckshot pickup. That Bell was in a good mood was not surprising. After all, Jays manager Jerry Williams had over-buckled during spring training to ensure that the temperamental 39-year-old Dominican-harvesting powerhouse does not damage the Jays' arm—or his last year with disastrous consequences.

The Jays beat the American League East to the Boston Red Sox by just two games. But Bell's ham-fisted performance at left field probably cost the team more games than that. In the 1989 season, which begins next week, the sophomore Jays say that they are determined to increase their chances of achieving the goal that has eluded them by narrow margins for the past 13 years. In the 1989 season, they want to go all the way to the World Series.

Creation fans have been tantalized by the

prospect of having a team play in the world baseball championship since 1989, when the National League's Montreal Expos strade bravely onto the field at Jerry Park to become Canada's first major-league baseball team. Both the Expos and the Jays have come within one win of putting it off—the Expos in 1984 and the Jays in 1985—but each time two consecutive losses interrupted the northern challenge. The chances of one of those teams—either half of them—making it to the World Series this fall are probably as good as they have ever been.

To be sure, neither is a league favorite. In the American League, Juan Canseco and Mark McGwire smash fences with their bats on half of the mighty Oakland Athletics, whose formidable pitching staff has been balanced by the acquisition of Mike Moore from the Seattle Mariners. And in the National League, the world champion Los Angeles Dodgers may not have enough talent to hold their lead, the New York Mets, winners of 100 games in 1988, look especially strong.

Former Jays manager George Bell, who left 321 for the Mets after being recruited from the minors during the final month of the season last year, will be on hand right from the start this year. As well, the Mets' veterans include Dale Aspin, who had suffered

from arm ailments throughout his career, faded away in Florida.

Still, Expos manager Steve Rodgers says that this may be his year to topple the managing New Yorkers. "They're getting old," declared Rodgers last week as he watched the Expos work out in West Palm Beach. Mr. Rodgers noted that the Mets' two key players—left baseman Keith Hernandez and catcher Gary Carter—are both 35, and they looked it last year. He added: "In the last few years, we have felt that something had to go wrong for the Mets in order to give us a shot at beating them. This year, I think we can compete on even terms."

The Expos have a few weak spots of their own. The very day that Rodgers was writing so enthusiastically about his team's chances, his new starting shortstop, Spike Owen, was hit in the back by a throw from the center fielder of the day, Ots Nelson. In the meantime, if third baseman Tim Whitchuck can rebound from his field performances at bat during the 1988 season, he could top off a potent offense built around the Expos' new superstar, Andre Dawson, veteran superstar Tim Raines and the undiscarded right fielder Hubie Brooks.

Of the two Canadian teams, the Blue Jays probably have an advantage over the Expos in talent. This spring's five wins at Dunedin saw the emergence of a high-gloss-finish Fred McGriff at first base and a much more refined Kelly Gruber at third. Meanwhile, Roger Penske has recovered from his elbow and knee injuries and could well regain the reputation he had earned as one of the best middle-infielders at baseball. The Jays' pitching is sound, although somewhat overshadowed to the part side, and the three outfields who only two years ago were considered the top trio in the game—Bell, Lloyd Moseley and Jesse Barfield—are still a real delight, roasting trade rumors.

There remains the unexplored issue of how the moody Bell will perform this year. A great batter, he slumped last year from the numbers that made him the league's 1987 Most Valuable Player—a .308 batting average, 47 home runs and 124 RBIs—to a less glistening .289, 34 home runs and 87 RBIs. Last year's decline set in after Bell flew into a spring training tantrum over manager Jerry Williams's decision to make him a part-time designated hitter, rather than a full-time left fielder. The dispute lessened long after the team had headed north for Toronto and never really disappeared, despite manager's decision to leave him in the outfield. Bell went on to make 17 errors and he committed fewer putouts per game than any other regular outfielder in the American League.

The Jays do not want to run the risk of another Bell flaccid this year. The assumption seems to be that while the great George may have another seven years in the outfield, if management can keep him happy, he will not be as clumsy as he was. And if a purposed George Bell is playing at the top of his form, the Jays might just be the first Canadian team to go all the way to the World Series.

DAN TURNER in Dunedin

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Pitying Toronto is not natural

BY CHARLES GORDON

Any minute now, the baseball season opens, and in Toronto, that means only one thing: construction to SkyDome. The SkyDome is Toronto's own盗版 of the dome with a retractable roof, and it will officially open June 2.

It will be a marginal moment, from all accounts, with the cost of digging the foundation, and perhaps the cost of moving the base concrete by the SkyDome itself, which will demonstrate its ability to open and close as fast as 20 minutes or only 20 minutes. The first successful retraction of the retractable roof will sweep a lot to Toronto, and it should mean a lot to all.

Now it is true the SkyDome would have meant even more if it had a cause more majestic than SkyDome, which sounds like the kind of thing a committee of advertising copywriters for tobacco companies might dream up. The SkyDome could have been named after one of the great baseball players to play in Toronto in the old days, such as Bucky Nelson, perhaps the most famous of the old Maple Leafs.

Better still, the SkyDome could have been named after Lester B. Pearson, a great prime minister and a great baseball fan. Then the Toronto report, which has been bringing increasing distress to the Pearson family name over the last couple of years, could quickly be named after somebody else — who is at the peripatetic of overreaching, sayings — or be given a name like Skybomber.

Whatever its name, the SkyDome, when it successfully retracts its top, is going to shake the world at up and take notice. Toronto hopes. It is going to give Toronto the opportunity to glint in the direction of Montreal, which has a much more expensive roof over a much more expensive stadium, and it is predicted that the much more expensive roof isn't going to work as well as the SkyDome roof.

When the SkyDome finally works, Toronto will be Toronto again, and not a moment too

Canada needs Toronto to succeed, to preen once again. It is part of the national character for Toronto to be envied and loathed

soon. "Oh no!" some of you are saying. Not that again. And it is true that there have been periods during which the rest of Canada found Toronto a bit hard to take. For many Canadians, there was almost a decade's worth of those moments, beginning with the mid-1970s. Then *Time magazine* (remember *Time magazine*?) put David Crombie on the cover and declared Toronto "The City That Works."

After that, as rapid succession, came the construction of the CN Tower, the world's tallest something, also the Eaton Centre, one of the earliest and most lavish downtown shopping centres, and a proliferation of restaurants featuring ethnic food that Toronto somehow claimed to have invented. In the mid-1980s, the active media celebrated it all, as well as the city's flourishing neighbourhoods and new downtown stores. The *Time* board it all for ever, overwhelming, its every step dogged by choruses of proud Torontonians chanting alternately: "Isn't Toronto fabuloso?" and "How about those Jays?"

While a successfully retracting SkyDome involves the risk, and pretty in consequence, of those days returning, a moment's reflection will convince you that it is necessary. First, you

have to keep in mind the depths to which Toronto has sunk in the last six months, and how quickly it happened.

It seems only hours ago that the streets were lined with prosperous young men in Mercedes-Benzes, car phones. It seems only yesterday that the Economic Summit showed Toronto to the world, showed the world that Toronto was — you! — *World Class*. And yet it is easy to retrospect to see that the Toronto of the summit was only a facade, that the prosperous young men with car phones were lonely and scared and probably talking to *Death-Prayer*. Because it was all to come crashing down. Suddenly within months, Toronto, the City that Works, became Toronto, the City that Doesn't.

All of a sudden, Toronto woke up and discovered that house prices had policies to be observed. Nobody could park anywhere anymore. Nobody could drive anywhere anymore. The newspapers discovered crime, then discovered teenagers gang, then discovered teenagers gang on shopping centres.

When Toronto had once been viewed with a mixture of resentment and envy, now they were not. Employers found that prospective employees would not move to Toronto. Interested, but not interested, Toronto was beginning to feel pressed.

That is why the SkyDome seems weak, why the rest of Canada needs the SkyDome to work. Canada cannot pity Toronto. It is not a natural site, but Toronto is not unnatural, it is trying to make it again. It is a product of the natural observer to Toronto to be pitied and laughed at.

There is no alternative. Can we hate Montreal? Not likely. Those who hate the English will still love the French part, or vice versa. We can't hate Vancouver because it is too far away, and can't pay attention anyway. Why waste time hating a city that doesn't know it is being hated?

It's Ottawa! Nah. Most of Canada dislikes Ottawa. But it can't be avoided — to be hated doesn't bring much about itself to be avoided. No one hates Winnipeg. The last vestiges of the West could be hated when they were bombing, but they're not bombing now.

An alternative is to hate nobody. But in Canada, that seems impossible. So it's Toronto or nothing, which means the SkyDome will have to work, in order for the city to regain its excessive self-respect.

If the SkyDome doesn't work, trouble is in the horizon. Already, there are early indications that Toronto-is-coming to you. Torontonians are being of their esp's: adults and moving out, to smaller towns and cities within driving distance.

There are cities two or three hours away from Toronto where and easier place are already passing. After June 3, if the SkyDome doesn't reflect to its full potential, Toronto may be arriving at your town, telling sold their Toronto houses for a hundredth price, ready to bid up the local market. Once settled, they will demand that your town become world class. It will need many improvements, not the least of which will be a domed stadium.

While a successfully retracting SkyDome involves the risk, and pretty in consequence, of those days returning, a moment's reflection will convince you that it is necessary. First, you



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King (left), Present, Maureen: when genteel values meet gritty downtown life

THEATRE

The urban jungle

A new play presents a clash of two worlds

BY GORDON RUTHERFORD
By Gordon Rutherford
Directed by Jackie Maxwell

Three years ago, actor Gordon King and his actress wife, Charleen King, gave up their house in Toronto's exclusive Forest Hill neighbourhood and moved in a downtown condominium. That move resulted them to reverse their roles in the reality and flux of the city core. A similar motive seems to be behind Present's new play, *Downs Walling*, which premiered last week at Toronto's Factory Theatre and which will move to the Monteath Theatre Centre in Winnipeg on April 19. About *Downs Walling*, King's first attempt to incorporate the fast and sometimes-ugly urban environment into his work. In the past, the Newfoundland native's plays and screenplays have mainly focused on rural and small-town themes—in his 1986 film, *Jets and the Wives*—their settings evoked a lassier, more pastoral past, such as that of his 1977-1979 CBC-TV series, *A Guy Is Best*. By contrast, *Downs Walling* takes place in one of the last privately owned mansions on Jarvis Street in contemporary downtown Toronto, a tough, old neighbourhood, with its parade of prostitutes and their promising customers. Still, despite Jackie Maxwell's fluid direction and some masterful

acting, the play seems hopelessly soft and unconvincing.

The sites behind the play is promising. Present attempts to take the genteel values of Toronto's former ruling class and mix them head-on into the choppy, dangerous realities of life in a city street. The old way is represented by Daphne Wauwak (Barbara Hamilton), a 65ish spinster who has continued to live in the family residence, alone except for her estranged old-johnson, Freddy Bullock (Glen Head). Daphne seems content with her life in the post-Victorian shadows, perpetuating the memory and customs of a century long dead. But then she collides with the real world in the person of Boots (Tracy Repp), a hooker who takes refuge from her pimp on Daphne's porch.

The two women could hardly have less in common: Boots, dressed in spandex tights and a see-through blouse, is indignant to the point of belligerence. Daphne, well-mannered and sternly severe, tries to express her with harrumphing tirades from the tonics of her English ancestors—and looks utterly. But before their apparent repulsion, the two share similar fears: both are wasting their lives. A better playweight would have sensed on that and moved their confrontation to its fallacy. But Present never punctuates Daphne's veneer of toughness. He gives her only two brief scenes with Boots and fails the rest of her play with the passing

of two various characters: Daphne's sister, Maureen (Charleen King), and Justice Goldsway, one of Maureen's ex-husbands, played by Present himself.

A kind of downscale *Zsa Zsa Gabor*, Maureen has just returned home after the collapse of her third marriage. She is the kind of character whom people, if they are being kind, call "theatrical" or, in Present's words, a phoney. Maureen calls starkly everything "Darling," laments with little sympathy, and strikes more poses than an over-worked traffic cop. There is nothing wrong with putting such people in a play. But Present never really touches on the pain and emptiness that are latent in such a personality. The few moments of insight and self-revelation he allows Maureen never contrives—she does more than enough to her convincing self-dissimulation.

Present brings his usual cocky verve to the role of Justice, the drama's other lightweight character. With lots of taste and aplomb, Justice is a webster who has abandoned wealth for a first wife, who has maintained his connections with the sisters. His most sapient train is her wit. After an inadvisable bout of love-making with Maureen—they have not touched each other for years—she remarks, "I don't care what they say, it's not a bit like the bicycle." Present can deliver such lines with a smirking, comical cheshire.

Yet Justice, too, suffers from the playwright's determination to stuff as many self-consciously "meaningful moments" into those 90-plus minutes as possible. On at least two occasions, he refers to the time when he could have avoided marriage to an actress and run off on his own. But those reflections fall flat, as do Maureen's simile observations. They fall even faster in the case of Daphne. Drolly sheared when Boots and her friend vanishes her house, Daphne realises that her years of serving the needs of the past have been a mistake. "I wish I was wearing a griddle," she tells her sister at the moment of discovery. And when Maureen asks why, Daphne replies, "Because I'd take it off."

Hamilton sniffs a laugh from the audience with that remark, but it comes in spite of the genuinely interesting nature of Daphne's conversion. Indeed, most of the joy in the production flows from its writing cast, particularly Hamilton. She creates an immensely likable and complex character—dignified, self-assured and kind. Boots, too, is a delight, lending a genuine eccentricity to the hustling, alcohol-swilling parlor. But the actors can only do so much. *Downs Walling* purports to take its characters into a meaningful emotional labyrinth. But its simplistic psychology offers no more challenge than a revolving door.

JOHN RUTHERFORD

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BOOKS

An angry new novel

John Irving gives voice to moral outrage

A PRAYER FOR OWEN MEANY

By John Irving

(Lester & Orpen Drugs 544 pages, \$34.95.)

John Irving's best-selling novels, *The World According to Garp* and *The Cider House Rules* among them, have always provided readers with extraordinary worlds in which larger-than-life characters are caught up in outstanding events. In his latest novel, *A Prayer for Owen Meany*, Irving offers something a little different, moral outrage on a central character. True, the character has a name—Owen Meany—and a popular history all his own. He is a precociously small boy with damaged vocal chords and a permanently falsetto voice, who grows up during the 1950s in the New England town of Grafton with his best friend, the novel's narrator, John Wheelwright. But when Owen Meany speaks throughout the novel, he does so only in capital letters, making MANY HORROR PROFOUNDMENTS ON EVERYTHING FROM THE MATTER OF ELEGION TO THE HETZEN-MET. As the narrator himself says, "Owen was always guilty of overkill." The effect of all this could have been a bad case of reader apoplexy, or a serious case of hiccups—and it is, unfortunately, that is where the book has failed to create a world that is more complex and pernicious than his previous works. And, although the narrative of the new novel is always good and more polished than in the earlier books, the result is still a powerful and affecting story.

Wheelwright, living in exile in Canada, teaches English to privileged kids at Tavistock's Bishop Strachan School, about which the author seems to have considerable knowledge. (Two years ago, Irving earned Coachman James Tavistock, former patron of Soul Boys and himself a graduate of Bishop Strachan. Could this be a case of art imitating life?) Irving also seems to have Cantel at one point. Wheelwright offers a litany of praise for Canadian Authors, including Alice Munro, Timothy Findley and Robertson Davies, that reads more like a book list than a review from a novel. Wheelwright, an middle age, a sorry soul, a scoldy and occasionally sterile man who spends his spare time at the local Anglican church or reading the newspapers for fresh news of American political anomalies to feed his own appetite for outrage. Like other Irving protagonists, Wheelwright is a guiltless child, the son of the town's uncommunicative, ill-tempered professor, has a brief affair with a mystery man and the affectionately refers to her son as "my little f---."

Wheelwright also spends time reliving his complicated friendship with Owen Meany. "I am doomed to reenact a small boy with a wounded voice," the story begins, and it is clear there is much to reenact. On a single narrative level, *A Prayer for Owen Meany* is the story of their friendship. The relationship



Irving: 'a civilization concerning toward an infinity of disagreeable endings'

between the two boys is forever changed on the day that little Owen Meany, totally a laggard stock on the Little League baseball diamond, hits a foul ball with such ferocity that it strikes Wheelwright's mother, killing her instantly. (The foul ball has literary echoes of the newborn gone astray in Robertson Davies's Deptford Trilogy.) Owen Meany, unapologetic, unapologetic, humorous but nevertheless livable enough to enthrall not only his school but a whole town, is contrasted, at the age of 16, that that tragedy was an act of daring. He believes—ironically but ultimately correctly—that the rest of his life is doomed.

On a much more level, the novel is a study of the nature of small-town life and the "infantile societies" it produces. Irving methodically and sometimes hilariously details the goings-on in the town's two drama legions and in its posh private school, where Owen Meany, the son of

apartheid owner, emerges as the star pupil, albeit one who is eventually thrown out on a diagnosis. And Irving charts Wheelwright's search to find his place, a quest that guides the novel's only unification, and finally shapes the novel's bleak belief that "we are a civilization concerning toward an infinity of disagreeable endings."

The book also examines, with little affection, the 1960s, the decade in which Owen Meany and John Wheelwright were of age, and the "concupiscent blend of the murderous and the trivial" that defined it. It shows how the war in Vietnam drastically affected both their lives and chronicles the development of their moral and social consciousness. And it becomes clear that Irving has not lost his deadpan touch: one of Owen Meany's saddest moments, when he truly loses hisself in a hectic world, is the day

that he discovers that President John F. Kennedy is "daffed." Marlys Moore.

But most of all, the novel is about the nature of religious belief, and it poses a series of unanswerable whys. What does it mean to believe in God? Is there such a thing as profiting? Irving even examines the idea of another virgin birth. Owen Meany is revealed as a Christ-like figure who seems to know fully what his own terrible fate will be. And it is left to his best friend to wonder why his fellow newspaperman cannot imagine Meany as a "new saint." Irving is capable of writing with a great deal of tenderness about the exotic characters he creates. But in *A Prayer for Owen Meany* he builds a great deal of anger as well. The effect is wrenching but unsettling, which is no doubt precisely what the author intended.

JUDITH TIMSON

Issues of loyalty

A writer recounts a painful family history

LOYALISTS A SON'S MEMOIR
By Carl Bernstein
(General, 262 pages, \$25.95)

Near the end of his long-awaited memoir of his parents, Carl Bernstein makes a very confessional. He describes his account of growing up with a left-wing family in the rabidly right-wing Washington of the 1950s as "a book about loyalty." The remark is intended as a rebuke to those who say his father was a sell-out, an effete in his father's trade it is, as well, a wacko in keeping with the author's reputation as the movement half of the famous Watergate duo, including Bob Woodward, that was the Pulitzer Prize for stories that helped to drive President Richard Nixon from office in 1974. Unfortunately, the reference is also an accurate summary of Bernstein's worldview. As a son of New York, he hangs and the family laundry. And the sight of so much solid Bernstein laundry, while fascinating, is not always edifying.

The author's professed intentions are in-

able enough. Bernstein set out to rehabilitate the reputation of his parents, a pair of young Jewish radicals who fell afoul of the anti-Communist fever that swept Washington after the Second World War. Alfred Bernstein was a Columbia-trained New York lawyer who travelled to Washington as a Roosevelt New Dealer and played a prominent role in the leftist United Public Workers of America trade union, eventually defending about 500 union members against government charges of disloyalty. Sylvia Bernstein, a Washington native, was active as a social cause at the forefront of racial desegregation in the U.S. capital and the campaign to save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the New York couple convicted of espionage—and eventually executed—in connection with transmitting nuclear secrets to the Soviets.

Both of Bernstein's parents were briefly imprisoned in the U.S. Communist party, an action for which they would ultimately pay a heavy price. Bernstein's father was banished from government into the laudatory basement. He ap-

pealed, invoking the Fifth Amendment—protecting against self-incrimination—when asked about his membership in the party. Bernstein's mother did the same in front of the infamous House Un-American Activities Committee. They were harassed by neighbors, friends and family. They were harassed by J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation, even to the point that young Carl's mother was placed under surveillance. They watched the Russians for 20 years, accumulating 7,000 pages of files on the family.

Many of those files appear in the younger Bernstein's memoir, thanks to the freedom-of-information law that was so comprehensively abused during the troubled period of his parents' lives. It is a time that Bernstein portrays with honesty and skill. He manages to capture the confusion and innocence of growing up in a rapidly deflating domestically leftist politics during a period of national paranoia. Often the effect is moving, so when he describes the pain and loneliness that Black children suffered during desegregation demonstrations simply because they were not allowed to use whatever was left for them, "I did all the reason I hated going downtown," he writes, "was the knowledge that my friends were going to peer in their pants. Those seemed to me to illustrate the dignity of segregation and the shame our desegregation inflicted on my friends."

Bernstein is also eloquent in summarizing his own deep fears, especially when he recalls the Roosevelt executions: "The Roosevelts too were progressive people—and they were going

to die if it, they were going to fry." What they went to that electric chair in 1951, he writes. "I shook and trembled uncontrollably that night, can still remember the terror and the fury at my mother for risking her life, the after dinner."

Claudie, those events had a profound effect on Bernstein. It may be part of the reason why it has taken him 13 years to write his memoir. It may also be at the root of what is wrong with the book. At one point, Bernstein describes an episode that took place while playing miniature golf. "My father was bending over to put through the wooden wheel when I got this pretty good notion to take a whack at his hand with a golf club. It is the only time in my life I consciously remember feeling like that. My mother Laura had just been born. Probably it was Freudian nonsense. But in my family Marx and Freud get very confused."

As that passage indicates, the memoir's main problem is that while Bernstein is certain that his parents were never disloyal Americans, he does not convincingly sustain his conclusions about them—particularly his father. He cannot decide whether to be proud of his dad being "programmed" or not. He is originally intended to title the book, or blame them for joining the Communist party and making his childhood difficult.

Bernstein complicates the book further by



CARL BERNSTEIN

Bernstein, the crusader in a period of journalism

engaging in a little period history, although he tries pains to stress that what he is writing is personal. He seems to be aware that his parents joined the Communist party at a time,

1948, when membership was not only legal but in some circles even fashionable. He also appears to have just discovered the significance of President Harry Truman's notorious 1947 loyalty order, when in fact it has long been established as one of the purest factors behind the man of McCarthyism, the 1950s' whitewash campaign for Senator Joseph McCarthy's re-elections.

And by having undertaken a book that his parents did not want written in the first place, Bernstein has put himself at odds with the people whose house he sought to restore. "Leave a comfortable life right now," his mother pleads with him at one point. "I finally have a kind of security, plus wonderful children. I don't want to go through it again." His father is even more adamant. Strangely that family friend Jessica Mitford had identified Communist party members by name in her book on that era only when a member specifically authorized her to do so, the senior Bernstein tells her and "Then she doesn't thing to do that." She didn't offend him, she says. "You didn't offend me, but you made me feel dirty." Carl Bernstein is honest enough to acknowledge that but, in the end, got his own needs ahead of his parents' concerns. Unfortunately, with Loyalty, he fails to prove that the sacrifice was worth it.

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Ford: cautionary tales of Cold War as precedent for an era of political reform

Kasler's otherwise well-constructed recitation of the protracted U.S. Embassy in Moscow in the mid-1980s by the Soviets, the Seven secret security forces. Kasler recounts how inexplicable and horrendous fighting among the state department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Marine Corps allowed CIA weapons operatives to sexually enslave and rape young guards. That penetrated the book to gather information on embassy employees and classified activities. The result, he concluded, was a disastrous "punctuation that discredited the CIA and its operations in the Soviet Union." And, he argues, little has been done since then to prevent a repetition.

Unfortunately, Kessler undermines his case by overreaching. And the book illustrates the difficulties of doing research on an event that occurred in another society on another continent. In discussing a man who beds with a female hooker, Kessler speculates that she was a KGB plant because "surveillance by women is unusual in the Soviet Union." In fact, both women occasionally hooker in Moscow.

Still, Moscovici-Strober offers a timely reminder that, even in an era of reform, foreigners in the Soviet Union should be wary. But Kessler's perspective makes his warning on prevention of future KGB penetration even more annoying. By suggesting that he knows all the answers, his attitude is not unlike that of the U.S. organizations that he condemns.

with associates. At the funeral of Josef Stal in 1953, Ford describes Stal's associates, with whom their future leader Nikita Khrushchev, he writes, looks like a "hunchback," while former U.S. chief Lanarka Baik presented a "deformed gangster." Later, Bark, a proletarian successor of former prime minister Piotr Drus, credits how Brutus "in one of his most astounding gestures" assassinated Soviet official Otsova who was a secret KGB agent.

Our Man in Moscow also offers a trenchant accounting of past Soviet leaders' attempts to cope with persistent problems. Although Soviet State may cannot discount on "negotiation" during the leadership of Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982), Fadil says Brezhnev was a "clever and energetic" leader "but he became ill in the mid-1970s. With the country now suffering severe food shortages, Fadil recalls similar problems in the mid-1930s—and depressingly similar unsuccessful reforms.

At times, Ford's analysis is undermined by poor pacing: the books first half is a chronology of his diplomatic career, and the second half, discussing Soviet policies enacted at that time, seems repetitive. As well, some of Ford's

Accordions serve only to illustrate the apparent importance of his views. In one instance, he condoles himself with influencing President Jimmy Carter's decision to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games as a protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

八年级数学上册-第10页

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2000

See: *Star* (3)
 Cat's Eye, Alfred (2)
 The Seeds of Time, Stephen (4)
 The Genesis Manus., Rudolf (1)
 Midnight, Ernest (2)
 The Lyon of Ghent, Dennis (2)
 Beards Kiss, Rio Lucifer (7)
 Whistler, Thomas (18)
 The Samson, Korda
 The Long Dark, *Tommy of the Soul*,
Alone (2)

第10章

Blind Faith, McGovern (2)
Stress for Success, Edwards (2)
A Read History of Time, Hastings (2)
The Struggle for Democracy, White and Barker (2)
The Arctic Grill, Series (4)
The Last Iron, Western Spenser Chronicle
Alone, 1919-1948, Münchener (7)
Grace, Sun (2)
The Present Voice, Canada (2)
An Affair to Remember, DeMille and
Egypt (2)

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Cromwell rules in the nation's capital

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Thus government in Ottawa must be doing something right. It must be doing something right because it has miraculously disappeared. Back right beneath the surface. On a personal level, it is a success story. Grits say someone voter on the street, or in a pub, or camping out at her service givens, and behind the scenes, the minister assumes he is one of the top of the best. The stop comes from the public, they can't remember what they do. This is not an accidental happenstance. This is on purpose. Brian Mulroney has finally learned his lesson.

Canadians naturally don't want to be bothered. They will leave it others in Tehran and Kabul. A force of government advancement that means having down buildings and, if necessary, cabinet ministers. The Canadian way is to write a letter to the editor. Five years after becoming the first prime minister to have a work-in-class background, The Iggy That Walks Likes He has learned very useful lesson. It is that the reason Macdonald King ruled so long was that he was so perfectly did that we forgot about him. Let him run the government. While we went about our more interesting personal lives.

Look around you. The boy from Bee-Gees having just celebrated his fifth birthday—which is half-way to wisdom—has distilled himself and all about him. Whether Mulroney converted him, or his ministers did, it doesn't matter. The onlyness that he marked his early years in power has been checked back into low gear, only occasionally emerging before the tape recorder, something like a lost puppy that jumps on the gunna before it is restrained and spanked again. You can almost see Mulroney speaking his fine deep baritone when it slips into that dangerous pomposity second layer.

Even more obvious is how he has made his ministers disappear, more like whoeva have been advanced: as in a set of names. Not that they were ever prime candidates for Farnsworth's *Teach* in the first place. But, by careful training, they have learned from the Macbeths of your world. Geroni Trott Hickey Thy to re-investigate one

state-of-delisted before the election. Cromwell's set of congressional, says minister Marlene McNeil, is to shoot out only one issue of an opposite as he is returning. CBC Radio's very clever *Saturday Morning* Double Rapunzel show still features her most well, but an indication of how bereft is their local Ottawa targets.

What he left to make of all? The Prime Minister (wee left), that Mulroney has completely disengaged from Brian Beatty, who wants to be in 24 Sussex Drive next year. By taking his nuclear subs away from him, he has made Beatty look very much like a kid in the bath tub who has lost his rubber ducky. Joe Clark, who was getting good early reviews? Perhaps that was the problem, for the 70s does not fancy itself. With the result that Clark has been uninvited to many times in the foreign policy field by his boss. But there is now serious Ottawa speculation about the blighted Clark becoming the next governor general, a black hole from which no one emerges and art Schreyer.

Mulroney has also suffered from some good luck. The esteemed Marlene McNeil, who could eat that gang for breakfast and seriously lowered the government's own status as the American Express man, has been off her feed for a bit and inserted a few columns before returning to her full fighting form.

But there are particularly no targets in the freedom house. Mulroney has given the sensible Dan Munro, the car dealer from northern Alberta, as many titles and tasks that the man staggers about like a chap with a sack of coal on his shoulders and doesn't have the energy to dispense a quote. Even the terrible-tongued Bruce Phillips, the new director of communications whose idea of communication is a shout and a cigar burn on your forearm, has been shifted into some available header where his name cannot be deleted.

John Crosbie is the only possible source of wit and surprise? Reunited with Mulroney in need of an acting justice minister over the Christmas break after Ray Hnatyshyn was defeated, picked law abiding, drop dead Crosbie rather than Crosbie, who was the gold medalist when he graduated from his law school, and, alas, after all, a previous prison minister.

Mulroney, leaving from Macdonald King, is trying to dull us to death, his previous attorney general having proved to be a constipated. Someone once asked Ontario's Bill Davis why he was so bland. "Because," he replied, "it works."



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